Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

LEGACY & LEGEND

Edited by
M.P. Dube

Foreword
Prof. M.D. Upadhyaya

KUMAUN UNIVERSITY
PUBLICATION

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THE BOOK

The present research volume is a study of the contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru towards the making of modern India. It is based on the careful examination of his thought, word and deed. Nehru had a many splendoured personality. He played an inestimably significant role during the freedom struggle and guided the destiny of the free Indian nation for seventeen years. The study begins with a discussion of his contribution in maintaining world order by way of adjustment, compromise and reconciliation. Democracy became for him an abiding belief and an article of faith, secularism a way of life, and planning a developmental ethos, and socialism a governing ethics. He tried to bring socio-economic revolution by consent and participation of the people. One of his principal accomplishment has been sheer survival of India as a cohesive, powerful, united and integrated nation. He has left behind him a very rich legacy. It is that which this book seeks to present.

This outstanding book will be of great use to teachers, scholars and students of all fields.

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(On the Occasion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Birth Centenary)

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The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

Jawaharlal Nehru

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

LEGACY AND LEGEND

Reference Book

G.M.C.E.J
1134

Edited
by
M.P. DUBE

Gandhi Memorial College
SRINAGAR
Acc. No: 1134
Dated: 1993

G.M. College of Education
Raipur Bantalab
Jammu
Acc. No
Dated

KUMAUN UNIVERSITY
PUBLICATION

CC-O. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

First Published
14 November, 1989

© KUMAUN UNIVERSITY
NAINITAL, U.P.

Printed at
Takneeki Mudranalaya
50–A, Rai Ram Charan Das Road
ALLAHABAD-211002 (INDIA)
Phone:-54506

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FOREWORD

On the occasion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's birth centenary, Kumaun University organised multifarious cultural, academic and sports activities, and the present book is dedicated to the memoryof this great visionary, one of the brightest scintillating stars in the galaxy of luminaries and the chief architect of modern India. Words really fail to express the ingenuousness, acumen and magnanimity of Pt. Nehru. Although volumes have come out depicting multifacet aspects of Nehru's personality and achievements but the present book entitled **'Jawaharlal Nehru: Legacy and Legend'**, stands distinctly apart as it is a collection of articles written by experts and edited by Dr. M.P. Dube with meticulous care resulting in a systematic analysis of the evolution of Nehru's thoughts regarding India's social political, economical and cultural transformation. Innumerable examples could be put forward to show that Pt. Nehru was liberal, humane, forgiving, generous in his judgements and excessively trustful. Soon after independence, India needed a pragmatic person, who would be able to rejuvenate the country economically and socially. This is exactly what Nehru did. He used his pragmatism to build a new India and to strive to bring it at par with the rest of the advanced countries of the world. He believed in modernization and rapid economic development of the country through large scale application of science and technology.

History, for all times to come, will record his unflagging zeal, unflinching devotion, and fortitude for the alleviation of the lot of the downtrodden, not only in India but throughout the entire world. Fight against imperialism, obscurantism, incessant toil of a life time to place India on a high pedestal alongside the advanced nations deeply touches an emotional cord within us. He was the well-spring of novel concepts of non-alignment, universal brotherhood and peaceful coexistence. A virtuoso in the field of literature, his writings speak volumes of his perspicacity and foresight and unfurl yet another aspect of his multifaceted personality. A child at heart, he was the dear 'Chacha Nehru' of children all over the world.

On the occasion of his birth centenary, when the nation reverberates with enthusiasm and remembers him with great reverence and affection,

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we bring out this memorabilia as a tribute to our beloved Panditji and the elevated ideals for which he fought and stood with unswerving loyalty to the nation.

M.D. UPADHYAY
Vice-Chancellor
Kumaun University, Nainital

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PREFACE

The idea for this volume grew out of the recognition that Nehru's ideas are much more relevant today and they need to be studied in the light of our past experiences. The year long celebrations that started on 14 Nov. 1988, gave an opportunity to analyse his policies and programmes afresh and to bring out an edited volume to mark the birth centenary of Pt. Nehru, being celebrated under the auspices of Kumaun University, Nainital. Nehru, the almost mythic figure had a many splendoured and mult-faceted personality. He laid the foundations of modern India. As a man, as a leader, and as a ruler, he made tremendous contribution towards maintaining international peace and security, and building of the Indian nation. He left a legacy behind him which has been inherited by we Indians. The present volume deals with the legacy of Nehru.

Nehru had a vision of a world order, every nation living in peace, goodwill and harmony with each other. He always retained the reins of the country's foreign policy in his own hands. Nehru's vision of international co-operation and peace has been dealt in the I part of the present volume. Here an attempt has been made to interpret his foreign policy in terms of Gandhian heritage and to review the regional dimensions of India's foreign policy. Part I also deals with the policy of nonalignment during Nehru's period as well as during the post-Nehru era. He sought to achieve selfreliance in economy, secularism in the management of our parliamentary democracy, enhancement of the status of women, socio-economic justice to the poor and down-trodden and a just and cohesive nationhood by his charismatic leadership. Parts II to VI deal with Nehru as a democrat and parliamentarian, as a planner, as a champion of national unity, as a crusader for science and modernity and as a charismatic leader.

I hope this volume, containing many distinctive contributions, would help to promote clarity of thought and thus would open new vistas towards understanding of Nehru's ideas. If the book helps to promote better understanding of Nehru's thought and vision, I shall consider that my labours have been amply rewarded.

The editor takes up the opportunity of according his heart-felt sincere thanks to the large galaxy of distinguished contributors who kindly agreed to share their learned views on the topics relating to

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Nehru's ideas in the wider perspectives of international peace and security, national development and human welfare, and his legacy. I am grateful to Professor M.D. Upadhyaya, Vice-Chancellor, Kumaun University, Nainital, without whose help and encouragement, perhaps this volume would not have come out. I gratefully acknowledge the scholarly interest and encouragement given by Professor A.D. Pant, Director, Govind Ballabh Pant Social Science Research Institute, Allahabad. Among those who evinced keen interest in the progress of this book, I must mention Dr. P.C. Pandey, Convener of the Nehru Birth Centenary Celebrations Organising Committee of Kumaun University, who helped in many ways and Dr. G.C. Pande, Reader in Economics who gave concrete suggestions in the preparation of the volume.

In the end I thank all my friends and well wishers who helped me from time to time in completing this book.

Kumaun University
Nainital
15 Aug. 1989

M.P. DUBE

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INTRODUCTION

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
A PROFILE

M.P. Dube

In his book, Republic, written with extraordinary literary imagination and philosophical skill, Greek philosopher Plato says: "Until then, philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who follow either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never cease from evil no nor the human race, as I believe and then only will our state have a possibility of life and behold the light of day." Jawaharlal Nehru may be called a philosopher-statesman in the Platonic mould, who held power with complete entitlement because he knew things as they were and had sought and found the truth in the realm of ideas. He stands out for his contribution to world peace and Indian nation-building and remains the most endearing and inspiring figure of the age. Such a harmony of thought, word and deed as was possessed by him could rarely be seen elsewhere. He tried to promote friendship, goodwill and cooperation among the community of world nations and struggled against militarism and colonialism so as to make the world safe to live in. He gave a vision of India: It was he under whose leadership the Indians proceeded towards evolving a great and powerful nation-state yearning for health wealth and power by way of modernization. He fostered a sense of community in the people of India by invigorating, revitalizing and developing the social system. He exhibited values which are a source of inspiration for mankind. "He will" said Attlee," go down as one of history's most attractive and endearing figures."

Born in Allahabad on Nov. 14, 1889, in a Kashmiri Brahmin family, Nehru was a member of India's most aristocratic caste. His family was steeped in the culture of the East and the West. His father, Motilal had very much admiration for the British; he was European in opinion, in values and intellect, though this Europeanism in him slowly evolved into a deep and powerful nationalism. The father seemed to the son the embodiment of strength and courage and cleverness.' The father's spirit of independence and courage was inherited by the son. Nehru had a great affection and respect for his father. In deference to the wishes of his

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father, he was given English education at his home, and at Harrow and Cambridge. He aquired a liberal humanist outlook in Europe. The English education cultivated and inculcated values of humanism in him; it fostered the spirit of nationalism, international understanding, social responsibility, and faith in the future of his country; and it nurtured scientific temper and inspired and instialled innovative and creative thinking in him. During his studies in England, he embibed the traditions of British humanist liberalism; and he was fascinated with the gains of liberalism that have come to mankind from the spirit of free inquiry, free discussion, and rational accommodation. He developed a faith in enlightenment, a faith in a process rather than in a set of doctrines, a faith instilled with pride in the achievements of the human mind and yet coloured with a deep humility before the vision of a world so much larger than our human hopes and thoughts. At Cambridge, he was attracted by the Fabianism of Shaw and the Webbs; there he developed academic interest in socialism but more as an intellectual exercise than as a political creed.

In India, after his return in 1912, politics became his major preoccupation and he increasingly absorbed himself in the understanding of his own country socially, economically, geopolitically and culturally. He became equally versed in Indian and European cultures. Writing in his Autobiography, Nehru described himself as a mixture of East and West: "perhaps my thoughts and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me, as she does to all her children, in innumerable ways; and behind me lie, somewhere in the subconscious, memories of a hundred, or whatever the number may be, generations of Brahmins, I cannot get rid of either that past inheritance or my recent acquisitions. They are both part of me"

Nehru met Gandhi in 1916 at Lucknow Congress and gradually developed a deep contact with him; though there had been some change in Nehru's attitude from one of a critical follower to that of a passionate convert in the forties, yet he always accorded to Gandhi every sign and depth of affection. As a principal lieutenant of Gandhi, he played great role in the building of Indian nation and the winning of independence by a conscious choice of non-violence in the struggle. He had been deeply influenced by Gandhi's organic integration which he had achieved between the man of ideas and the man of action. The foremost qualities in Gandhi were the sense of service and sacrifice; he hated injustice and cruelty; he refused to be content with the mere enunciation of lofty principles but insisted on action. Moreover, Gandhi always sought to

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build bridges and forge links between conflicting elements. These sterling qualities drew Nehru to Gandhi. In their temperament and ideology, they had very little in common; they used different symbols and metaphors; Nehru reached his conclusions through reasoning and analysis, and felt very uncomfortable with Gandhi's reliance on his inner voice; and some of his ideas seemed to Nehru 'medieval and revivalist'. But the pursuit of a common objective the rock-like commitment to India's freedom and admiration for each other's qualities kept them of from falling apart; rather Nehru became Gandhi's political heir and shared much of his philosophy.

It was during 20's and 30's that there came about a qualitative transformation in Nehru's inchoate and groping ideas which led to the greater identification with universalism, rationalism, morality and democratic socialism. Happenings in India in the early twentieth century-high-handedness of officials, callousness of British government and the conditions of the Indian people-had great bearing on young Nehru. He frequently visited far-flung areas and came in touch with reality. He became deeply engrossed with the problems of the peasants in the United Provinces. These had a profound effect on Nehru's mental development. The rural world of abject misery, despair, subjugation and illiteracy directed his agile mind towards the socio-political and economic problems of the teeming millions of the country. The impoverishments and divisions brought about by British rule made him feel agitated for the betterment of the motherland. He spent more than a decade in prison during the glorious freedom struggle because of his passionate belief in the emancipation of his country from the indignity of foreign subjugation and of poverty, misery, ignorance and disease.

Nehru had firm conviction in the potentiality of human reason and in man's ability for survival; he believed in the perfectibility of the human being. What mattered to him most was the dignity of man and his self-respect. He could never tolerate the erosion of any man's selfrespect or violation of his human dignity. In India people were suppressed under the spine-breaking, intolerable burdens of feudal tradition, economic exploitation, political subjugation, religious tyranny and social disabilities. These were the shackles binding the Indian peasants and the workers to a life that was robbed of dignity and lacked self-respect. He had heart-felt pity for them that gave way to compassion and then in turn to a great love and creative effort for the people. He contributed intestimably to the making of modern Indian consciousness and like Gandhi imbued his country-men with 'a sense of dignity, service and

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self-respect, teaching them to hold their heads erect again'. 'Historical progress' 'the endless improvement of the human being' was the creed of his thought and he had optimistic feelings for his own country as well as for the world in general; and therefore, he thought that there was no reason why we could not succeed, given the opportunities. He believed with unswerving intensity in civil liberties as an absolute value and that it was only through political democracy that human dignity and self-respect could be established. Democracy became for him an abiding belief and an article of faith. It included free speech and free press, civil liberty, adult franchise, the rule of law and independent judiciary.

Another major influence on Nehru was that of Marxism, Nehru was an insatiable reader; he delved deep into Marxist literature. Though its stress on social and economic justice drew Nehru to Marxism, yet before his visit to Europe in the late 20's, he did not know much about 'the fine points of communism'. His ideas on socialism took concrete shape during his visit to Europe. In February 1927. Nehru actively participated in the Brussels Session of the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities. There he met many of the leading European communists, some of the leading young nationalists and several progressive intellectuals. The link between the national liberation struggles in each country and the global battle against the imperialism was articulately explained by the communist delegates. The deliberations of the Congress sowed seeds of socialism in the Nehru's fertile mind which had already become very much receptive by his Marxist readings.

Later in the same year, he visited Soviet Russia along with his father. He was very much fascinated by the progress made by the U.S.S.R. in the field of agriculture, prison reform, the eradication of illiteracy, the treatment of women, the handling of the problem of minorities and the demolition of class distinctions in both behaviour and dress. Dr. S. Gopal writes in the Biography of Nehru: "The grounding in Marxism, which he had received at the Brussels conference and after, was followed by a near-conversion to communism by practical testimony. Jawaharlal had been particularly impressed by Lenin's leadership, by his realism and resilience, and above all by his insistence on professional, full time revolutionaries. He who had sailed from India as a dedicated disciple of Gandhi returned a self-conscious revolutionary radical."

Nehru always considered the Marxist analysis of the past very scientific and illuminating. In Marxism, there is an explanation and critique of present and past societies. Prime importance is given to the forces of production and the relations of production as shaping the

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political and cultural arrangements in any given society. The economic base determines the political and ideological superstructure. The development of the economic structure produces social changes. At a certain state of their evolution the forces of production develop as far as they can under the existing economic and political organization of society, which then becomes a barrier to their further development, ushering in a period of social revolution in which new economic and political relationships, corresponding to the expanded forces of production, are established. In the successive modes of production, the crucial elements in society the forces of production have been controlled by a minority which exploits the mass of the population. This gives rise to a class struggle which centres around the ownership and control of the means of production. The capitalist system is crisis-ridden and is producing as its own gravediggers the empoverished working class, whose revolutionary activity will lead to the collapse of the capitalist system and to the advent of socialism. The logical reasoning of Marx influenced Nehru very much. He became Marxist. But his Marxism was diluted with the influence on him of the humanist traditions of Western liberalism and Gandhi's ethical framework. He, therefore, did not agree with everything what Marxism stood for. Its dogmatic insistence on the solutions, regimentation and excessive violence repelled him. Nehru said that when Marx wrote the conditions at the time were different from that of the 20th century. Then there was nothing like a democratic structure of the state and changes had to be made violently for the simple reason that they could not be made constitutionally or democratically. But today, we have to think of what Marx said in the context of our own times, our own country and our peculiar circumstances and objective conditions. Marxist solutions may have been right and proper for the times and the problems which brought them into being, but they cannot be removed from their historical context and applied to a century where different conditions prevailed. Nehru agreed with Marxist analysis of many things, but at the same time, he took notice of its deficiencies. He pointed out that Marx did not take into account other forces that might come into play in the future.

Firstly, Marx never foresaw the coming of political democracy and, with it, certain other democratic factors like trade union organizations, workers, organizations and peasant organizations which made possible peaceful change. Secondly, Marx had no awareness of the fact that the world was being revolutionized by tremendous technological advances and these scientific and technological advancements have in theory

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brought the goal of material prosperity within the reach of all. Thus political democracy, technological development and the changes in the nature of the capitalist system have deprived Marxist solutions much of their relevance. Nehru accepted Marxism tempered by his belief in the necessity of civil liberties and non-violence that Gandhi prescribed. He said, "I accept the general Marxist analysis but I wish it to be adapted to the Indian situation and I wish it to be suited to Indian conditions and to the Indian genius." Morris Jones rightly comments:

> **For him (Nehru) socialism meant mainly social justice with a movement towards equality, but it frequently connoted efficiency and a modern, scientific approach to the arrangements of society. He always looked back in admiration on the Soviet Revolution as 'a great leap' and 'a bright flame', but Marxism was too complete and coherent a doctrine to contain Nehru; he used its concepts when it suited him. He was a Marxist without the logic of Marxism, a Fabian without the faith in administration, a Gandhian without the acceptance of anarchy for morality's sake.**

Nehru was an indomitable freedom fighter and leader of the masses. He led the country through the glorious freedom struggle and then through first turbulent decades of Indian nationhood. As a disciplined party worker, he captained the ship of the Indian National Congress several times and pioleted it with so few errors of navigation. In opposition to the ideal of dominion status accepted by the majority of the top leaders of the congress as well as by the All-parties Committee of which his father was President, Nehru sponsored complete independence as the goal of the Congress in the last quarter of twenties. It was during his presidentship at Lahore that the historical independence resolution was passed in 1929. Again those were the crucial moments when at the insistence of Gandhi, he became the President of the Congress in 1936, 1937 and 1946. And he was ready to go to any extent sacrificing himself for the beloved country. He wanted to see the Indian nation rise to greatness. The search for greatness embraces certain degree of romanticism. Nehru was a bit of a romanticist that never allowed him to divest his emotional involvement with the country and her people rather enabled him at least partly to ignore the misery and sloth around him and attend to the tasks confronting him. But he was not a 'romantic' with little understanding of reality. When situations warranted he exhibited hard-headed realism.

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Nehru had achieved the dignity of an outstanding human being not only because he gave invaluable leadership and direction during the freedom struggle and during the first turbulent decades of nationhood but also because he was an Indian patriot with death-defying courage, fired with a passion for reforming the world and also because the intellectual giant possessed clear imagination and a flawless pen. His competence in giving expression to his boundless fund of human thought made him an almost mythic figure. For Nehru jail was a second home, and he made a habit of insatiable reading and writing in jail. He was 'a voracious reader and a prolific writer'. His classics Glimpses of World History, An Autobiography and Discovery of India were written during prison terms. Such a command over pen with a direct appeal to the reader's mind is very rare. His books depict a real insight into the social and political institutions of the world and that is the reason that they are read with much interest all over the world. His An Autobiography became a best seller and within weeks, went into many editions, became required reading for freedom fighters all over the world and was commended even by his detractors. It was a key to the ideas and politics of a whole new world. In his Inside Asia, John Gunther wrote: "Nehru's Autobiography is subtle, complex, discriminating, infinitely cultivated, steeped in doubt, suffused with intellectual passion. It is a kind of Indian 'Education of Henry Adams', written in superlative prose hardly a dozen men alive write English as well as Nehru and it is not only An Autobiography of the most searching kind, but the story of a whole society, the story of the life and development of a nation."

Nehru was handed over the charge of governing a country entrenched with religious, ethnic, linguistic, territorial and tribal cleavages, socially and economically retarded, inhabiting a vast land mass and convulsed with communal tensions resulting from traumatic partition of 1947. He headed the country during the formative phase of democratic nation-building and guided India's ascent to the pedestal of liberty. He envisioned a socio-economic revolution by democratic consent and participation that alone could ensure India a rightful and honoured place amongst the nations and give a new sense of self-respect. He was the architect of modern India and the apostle of peace calling upon the world to turn a new leaf of world order by promoting compromise, adjustment and reconciliation.

The central pillars of Nehru's programme were: Non-alignment, democracy, planning with a moderate socialist orientation—and secularism.

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Nehru was an outstanding figure of the world who made dedicated efforts to reduce international misunderstandings and tensions. The travails of the crushed, oppressed and discriminated masses of humanity troubled him profoundly. Even during the freedom struggle, he cast himself in the role of world statesman and put the problems of India's freedom in world perspective. He could never brook the idea of perpetuation of colonialism and racial discrimination by imperialists. As a heir, successor and exponent of Gandhi, he had great conviction for peace. By not joining any of the two hostile camps, he wanted to keep himself in a position to exert influence on both the military blocs in favour of moderation. His policy of non-alignment *vis-a-vis* neutralism attempted to be both less isolationist and more positive in creating the conditions for ultimate peace. In fact, Nehru's policy of non-alignment was an attitude of mind. It was freedom of action. For him it meant keeping India's options opėn; it enabled him to judge issues on their merits, take independent decisions, and play a role to lessen tensions and preserve peace. It was a global egalitarian movement to restructure the existing inequitable world order in political, social and economic aspects. Decolonisation, disarmament and an egalitarian economic order constituted as its intergral components. Non-alignment, as a policy of active participation in global politics, was in part' a natural extension of Gandhi's ideas of non-violence into a global ethos. 'We can say that Nehru made non-alignment' a sheet anchor of India's foreign policy, gifted it as a sound guideline to other Asian and African nations emerging from the slough of slavery into the sunshine of freedom, and launched it as an international force to reckon with.' He knew that the position upheld in the global arena by India was the only alternative to collective destruction in the nuclear age and the only approach by which the world community could survive and flourish.

Nehru's greatest achievement is the building of an independent, united and democratic nation. He preserved and consolidated Indian unity and steered the ship of the nation through the storms of the most explosive and malignant divisive tendencies. Despite several odds democracy remains rooted in the consciousness of India's people. For this credit goes to Nehru. He thought that political democracy would forge Indian nationhood and establish effectively human dignity in our country. Under the British rule there existed constitutional barriers to political and social union since the introduction of separate electorates in 1909 and, in fact, since the introduction of functional representation in municipal councils in 1885. The franchise was restricted by property,

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educational and other qualifications to approximately 15 per cent of the country's population, and resulting electorate was split into no less than thirteen communal and functional compartments for whose representatives seats were reserved in the various parliamentary bodies. Nehru aimed to create a basis for the social and political unity of the country by providing for universal adult franchise. In 'Unity of India' (1938) he wrote that an assembly constituted by direct election would represent the people as a whole and would be far more interested in the economic and social problems of the masses than in the petty communal issues which affect small groups.

The history of developed countries of the west had shown that economic development preceded political democracy. But Nehru said:'I do not believe that. I am going to take this leap and I am going to introduce adult suffrage in India.' There was mixed soring idealism and hard-headed realism in his deliberate choice of political democracy. There was historical identification of political democracy with independence forged by the Indian movement for freedom. His belief in political democracy was strengthened by the Mahatma's creed of means and ends and by his insistence that it needed right means to achieve right ends. He grafted political democracy with the avowed aim to bring socio-economic revolution and thereby to release the masses from the intolerable burden of feudal tradition, caste hierarchy, religious superstitions, taboos rituals and dogmas. His hold on the people was so great and the conditions in India at the time were so tempting that Nehru could have easily established a personal dictatorship or some kind of a 'guided democracy'. Had Nehru done this, it is doubtful that any emergent nation would have opted for rule of law and representative institutions. Their faith in democracy is largely the result of its inspired advocacy by Nehru.

One thing for which Nehru can be remembered most is institution building. He was always for the institutionalization of political organizations and procedures and certainly under his leadership the political system was moving in the direction of greater adaptability, autonomy and coherence. He had profound respect for parliament as the repository of people's will. He worked very hard to nurture the Congress party, the judiciary, the civil service etc.

Nehru implanted planning in the Indian polity as a method of achieving sustained economic growth. He wanted to achieve more and more economic growth in terms of per capita income, and, fundamental changes in economic structure in order to break through the barrier of

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poverty and bring about better life, more happiness and prosperity for the millions of our countrymen and at the same time, try to organize a more egalitarian basis for society in India.' Inspired by the example of the Soviet Union, he felt that planning was the only way for India to march steadily and fastly on the road to economic progress. He placed emphasis on rendering socio-economic jstice in India by achieving economic self-reliance, based on 'a strong public sector in heavy industry, a regulated private sector and cooperative farming.

He strove-to push the Congress and the country towards socialism. In the socialist framework, public sector occupied the commanding heights of the economy. But he said: "the private sector has a very important task to fulfil provided always that it works within the confines laid down and provided always that it does not lead to the creation of monopolies and other evils that the accumulation of wealth gives rise to." C.T. Kurien describes his concept of socialism:

> **For Nehru, socialism was a social order in which basic needs are met, but he didn't pay attention to the social dynamics of it, how it would be achieved. He thought that with a commitment to a set of ideas and political power, he would be able to shape Indian society.**

In fact, as once Nehru confessed to Andre Malraux, socialism was not an end by itself but a means to the end of doing the greatest good to the largest number in the shortest possible time through persuasion.

After Second World War so many nations unequivocally embraced theocracy, and if India did not go to theocracy the credit must go tc Nehru. Nehru thought that the disparate religions and regions, communities and castes can be held together only by secularising the politics and creating a sense of security and of belonging among religious minorities in India. Despite the reluctance of his several colleagues in the government, Nehru stood firmly for the acceptance and implementation of secularism as a part of the national code of conduct; he regarded secularism as the basic law of Indian nationhood without which India would not survive as a nation. He strove hard all his life to modernise India's medieval society by substituting technology for tradition and science for superstition, taboos and totems. He wanted to induce a scientific climate and temper among the masses of our people. It was in bigotry, obscurantism and prejudice that he saw the misery,poverty and disease of the masses. It was in the development of

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science wherein lay the economic salvation of India's millions.

He struggled very hard and purposefully to raise the social status of women and to protect their rights. S. Gopal, in his lecture delivered at the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, says: 'Towards the end of his life when an American journalist asked him: "Mr. Nehru, looking back on your career, which do you think is your greatest contribution to India?" Nehru said: "Well, teaching 400 million people to govern themselves." Also, Nehru said: "This is my legacy to India a self-reliant people; but, the achievement of which I am happiest is what I have been able to do to better the condition of women in India. The test of civilization is the way in which it treats its women. The Hindu Reforms Code, the insistence on monogamy, the right to property inheritance are, I think my greatest achievements."

Nehru devised a form of government which was democratic in form and spirit which ensured domestic peace and conditions of freedom, invited popular participation, provided free articulation of interests and also created conditions for an assault on intolerable poverty. Certainly, it was a very difficult task for a leader of a country of India's size and sprawl where poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy are the norms of daily life. In such a situation no leader can escape sharing foibles and failings. Nehru shared too. Charges are levelled against him that his policies were invariably too vague and dreamy, his socialism imprecise, his foreign policy lacked flexibility, and his domestic decrees lacked adequate supporting organizational effort. It is also said that his failure in the domestic field was lack of firmness. In the political sphere, he was unable to transmit his vision and purposefulness to his colleagues or lieutenants. He could not control satisfactorily the growing moral degradation in the body politic in the form of corruption, profiteering and black marketeering.

Nehru was the architect of modern India. He built institutions, gave ideas and vision, charted out programmes and formulated policies for the nation relentlessly. The techniques discovered, values apprehended and solutions proposed by him became the patrimony of mankind and which later generations are necessarily heir to. His achievements are to be cherished and built upon but his failings have to be analysed and rectified. Today, systems based on exclusive ideology of communism and capitalist democracy are showing strain and stress; in order to obliterate intolerable deprivation and social injustice Western democracies are resorting to devices of control. On the other hand, the most institutionalised socialist country, Soviet Union, with an aim to end

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political oppression, economic stagnation and the alienation of the individual, is embarking on democratising process. Perestroika and Glossnost have become ruling ethos in the U.S.S.R. These give clear testimony to Nehru's ideas of democratic socialism. But, today, our country seems to be headed into wilderness. Democracy, Planning and secularism are putting challenges before the nation but the democratic and secular values are getting eroded. The realisation of the aim of socio-economic justice is dismal and bestial butchery of one community by another remains a fact of national life. The nation is caught in a morass of moral degradation. We are tending towards collective failure. The centenary year of Jawaharlal Nehru provides an opportunity to see and analyse his contributions and shortcomings in retrospect. Thus, instead of embarking on a compaign to denigrate or deify Nehru, the pertinent questions to which one should address are: What is the legacy of Nehru? Has his Legacy evolved in a distorted form? Is there something wrong in his legacy? Have we followed the way which he showed us? What creative parts of his legacy are unfulfilled? Have his policies and programmes lost relevance? These are the questions, answers of which have very much relevance for today and would perhaps be of far greater relevance in the years to come.

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PART-1

THE VISIONARY OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

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Gandhi And Nehru

Indira Rothermund

This is an attempt to interpret Nehru's foreign policy in terms of Gandhian heritage, because the basic framework of this foreign policy is intrinsically intertwined with Gandhi's strategy and style of arriving at ends by adhering to 'truthful' means; in addition, the ideal of restraint and the ideal of social service which were manifest in Gandhi's action are also the basis of his world politics. These Gandhian ideals have served as guideposts to Nehru's foreign policy and have created the reflective approach that clearly underscores a certain style in the conduct of foreign policy and diplomacy. This approach grew out of an attempt to apply universal ethical concepts to international relations and in doing this Nehru endeavours to diminish and discourage the use of violence as a method of solving international, social and political problems of our century. He expresses his concern about seeking a violent short-cut in solving international problems on the part of the super powers, especially with reference to Communism he says:[1] "Communism has definitely allied itself to the approach of violence even if does not indulge normally, in physical violence. Its language is of violence, its thought is violent, and it does not seek to change by persuasion. This is completely opposed to the peaceful approach which Gandhi taught us"

Nehru's concept of Panch Shila, which is the basis of his foreign policy, parallels Gandhi's concept of interdependence, of the concentric circles of international relations. This is a series of concentric circles in which the service to the nearest is the first step towards and relations to others beyond him. As Gandhi says in this structure there will be ever widening never ascending oceanic circles till at last the whole becomes one life, composed of individuals sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle. This approach to international relations may be termed as a reflective one. The ideals of national independence and self-determination combined with the idea of "One World" are parts of the background of this reflective approach. India lived through an intensive struggle for national independence and faced almost insurmountable social and economic problems, therefore Nehru thought of the emanicipation and development of millions of colonial and poverty-stricken peoples as the number-one problem of our century. And in his

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foreign policy Nehru was influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the Gandhian concept of the totality of international relations.

The historical development of Gandhi's strategy and its impact on India are also mirrored in Gandhi's concept of international relations. Independence, for him, started with the individual; it was not the legal attribute of an entity called nation, but rather a moral quality of every member of that nation. Gandhi refused to look at the nation as a conglomeration of people who could be controlled once an "independent" government which would restore "law and order" was established. Because of this attitude Gandhi has been called an anarchist, sometimes with the benevolent attribute "philosophical". But he was not a philosophical anarchist; he was rather a democratic fundamentalist. The rule of the self was to him the prerequisite of self-government.

We usually consider a nation to be a definite entity to which certain attributes like independence and sovereignty can be ascribed, and therefore we are at a loss to chart the area, "between" those nations, which is the field of international relations. The attributes which we ascribe to "nation" make national and international relations different in essence. To Gandhi individual, national and international relations were different only in degree, not in essence. Therefore, he could conceive of individual actions as of direct national and international importance and vice versa. And therefore he would not compromise the struggle for India's independence by alliances which were undesirable in the field of international relations.

In comments on international relations Gandhi insisted that the general strategy of non-violent action would be pertinent in other countries as well as in India, although the specific style of its implementation might have to be different. His basic assumption was that human beings are alike in their fundamental response to factors like love, freedom, war, peace, violence, sacrifice, truth and courage, and that only the expressions of these responses might vary.

A typical formulation of these concepts may be quoted here:[2]

> **Complete independence through truth and non-violence means the independence of every unit, be it the humblest of the nation, without distinction of race, colour or creed. This independence is never exclusive. It is therefore wholly compatible with interdependence within or without.**

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The method of identification is inclusive, not exclusive. It serves as a means of communion, not of excommunication. For this reason Gandhi stressed the importance of India's struggle for freedom, to other minorities and oppressed races and nations. With the following words he clearly outlined the most fundamental principles of India's future international relations:[3]

> **If India won her freedom through truth and non-violence, India would not only point the way to all the exploited Asiatic nations, she would become a torchbearer for the Negro races that inhabit the continent of Africa, and even to Europe. The smaller nationalities lived in fear of losing their freedom. India's independence through any other means could never have that result.**

With these words Gandhi has accurately outlined the elements of India's international relations, even to the extent of grouping them according to their relative importance to India: (1) the independence of Asia, (2) the independence of Africa—and, implicitly, an end to racial discrimination, (3) peace and freedom in Europe. Furthermore he has stressed the other fundamental aspect of India's international relations the way in which India emerges as an independent country.

In other statements he has added to this outline by emphasizing that his identification with Asia had nothing to do with slogans like "Asia for the Asians," etc. Exclusiveness and the idea of "blocs" was distasteful to Gandhi.[4]

Independent India's identifications in the field of international relations, as outlined by Nehru in his foreign policy, were quite in keeping with Gandhi's words which we have quoted above. Asian conferences in 1947 and 1949[5] and the strong stand for Indonesian independence were in keeping with point 1. The Bandung Conference[6] was in keeping with points 1 and 2. In addition to this, independent India has committed herself to a number of tasks which transcend exclusive interests and which are indeed not closely related to India's immediate national interest.

Usually a country can identify itself with causes that transcend the immediate national interest only under certain conditions: (a) the country may be governed by a movement which has international rather than merely national interests, (b) the immediate national interest may be seen in a long-term perspective rather than in terms of immediate

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advantages. These conditions presuppose, however, that the internal opposition has the same views on international relations as the government and/or that the government has such a strong stand internally that its external commitments cannot be challenged by internal opposition. In India's case most of the four conditions are fulfilled. As we have pointed out previously, the party in power in the government, the Indian National Congress, still bears many features of a "movement," which it acquired under Gandhi's leadership. And if we consider Gandhi's hope that India might "become a torchbearer" we will agree that the movement which he led has definitely international aims.

Furthermore, as we have also shown previously, according to Gandhi national and international interest are interdependent, like concentric circles. The result is a strong and consistent indian foreign policy marked by a dynamic drive towards active engagement in world affairs. Naturally this often leads to conflicts. As Nehru says:[7]

> **Always there has been that inner conflict within him (Gandhi), and in our national politics, between Gandhi as a national leader and Gandhi as a man with a prophetic message which was not confined to India but was for humanity and the world.**

And this "message to the world" as carried out by independent India, appears often to outsiders, perhaps, as a strong bias—a preoccupation—because it is based on those strong identifications with the causes of anti-colonialism and anti-racialism and with the cause of inclusiveness vs. exclusiveness.

But, of course, these identifications give India a different outlook on world affairs; problems are assessed in a way which does not necessarily correspond with the way in which some other nations assess the problems of the world. Nehru demonstrates this by saying:[8]

> **There is the racial policy of the Union of South Africa, which is in no sense different from the racial policy of Hitler, except that they have not gone to those extremes that Hitler went to. But the theory is the same. The practice might be different, some-what milder. Or take other parts of Africa. We tolerate that. We talk about the bird's-eye view of those who are crawling on the earth. So also the view from different places of the earth's surface is different. If we look**

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> **at the world from Delhi, our view is one. A person looking at it from Washington or Moscow—his view is different. The whole picture is different, not the same, and the perspective is different. Anyhow this particular example that I gave of racialism running rampant in Africa and of the U.N.'s being unable to deal with it by passing resolutions, is in our eyes a very important thing, and at least as important as all this business of communism and Anti-Communism—both of them.**

Infact, India's foreign policy developed a character of its own long before the attainment of independence. In 1921, soon after Gandhi had taken over the leadership of the Indian National Congress, the All India Congress Committee announced to all neighbouring countries the good will of the people of India, and also stated the firm resolve of the people of India to disregard the treaties which the government of India had concluded with the governments of neighbouring countries—treaties which the Indian people felt had been devised to perpetuate British rule in India.[9]

On the other hand, the Congress refrained from regarding Britain's enemies as India's natural friends, and Gandhi himself was most outspoken against both Fascism and Japanese "co-prosperity".[10]

In spite of the double menace of Fascism and perpetuated British rule, the Congress did not lose its hope for a future cooperation of India in a world community. Finally, when independence drew nearer, Nehru summed up India's aims in a speech in September 1946:[11]

> **In the sphere of foreign affairs India will follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against the other India will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and will oppose racial discrimination wherever it may occur. She will work with other peace-loving nations for international cooperation and good will without exploitation of one nation by another. Towards the United Nations, India's attitude is that of wholehearted cooperation and unreserved adherence, in both spirit and letter to the Charter governing it. To that end India will participate fully in its various activities and endeavour to play that role in its councils to which her geographical position, population, and contribution towards peaceful progress entitle her.**

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About a year after this statement was made India gained full independence. At about the same time "containment" of Soviet Communism became the basis of United States international relations, and Zhdanov, the Soviet master mind, proclaimed the doctrine of the "two camps".[12] Faced with this situation, independent India decided that her place was in neither of the "two camps" and that she would have to remain in a voluntary minority position. But India was not the only "uncommitted" nation, for there were a number of others, most of which had only recently emerged from a colonial or semi-colonial past.[13] India could identify herself with these nations and speak for them and thereby establish friendly relations with them. Thus the "minority report" gained weight, but it also grew in substance as India tried to explain the position of "non-alignment" in more definite and positive terms.

As in Gandhi's time, the negative term had preceded the positive term. Gandhi in his time had replaced the formula "passive resistance" by the positive "Satyagraha" (holding fast to truth), and Nehru in his time summed up the negative terms of non-alignment, non-interference, etc., in the positive formula of "Panch Shila" (Five Foundations),[14] a kind of diplomatic satyagraha. Like the pattern of Gandhi's strategy and style, Panch Shila grew out of the application of general ideas to a specific case, for the instance agreement with China, and became subsequently a symbol for India's concept of international relations.

Panch Shila is therefore much more important in terms of the way in which it was arrived at than in terms of its institutional or legal meaning. As it is pointed out by a perceptive writer:[15]

> **The Panch Shila does not make any contribution to the shaping of an institutional framework capable of keeping the peace despite national rivalries. The value ot the ideal consists in providing clear moral goals and rules for those nations who are willing to strive for them.**

The pattern of manifestation of general ideas in specific circumstances and their future use for the clarification of similar events makes it possible to co-ordinate principles, their application and their consequences in a manner which allows for both steadfastness and flexibility. In its positive elements of mutual respect and benefit, "Panch Shila" which is the basis of Nehru's foreign policy, parallels Gandhi's concept of interdependence, of the concentric circles, of international relations. This approach to international relations, as formed earlier, is a reflective one.

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A reflective approach to international relations has to take intc consideration: the human and social relations within one's own nation, the national support of international relations and the impact of international policies on the nation, the connection of one's general principles of international relations with the above mentioned factors; the application and meaning of such principles; and the possible consequences of the application of these principles. To quote Nehru's speech in the Indian Parliament:[16]

> India's contribution to this new situation may perhaps be put in one word or two, Panch Shila, or rather the idea underlying it. And the House will notice that even since these ideas of peaceful coexistence were initially promulgated, they have not only spread in the world and influenced more and more countries, but they have acquired progressively a greater depth and a greater meaning, too this stress being laid on non-interference of any kind-and it has been defined, this House will remember, as political, economic, ideological, etc. is an important factor in considering the situation today. I need not say that those who believe in it come gradually within its scope.
>
> We have had in the past thirty years or so the development of this country under a great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. Now, quite apart from what he did or did not do, it was an organic development of this country, something which fitted in with the spirit and thinking of India, and yet which was not isolated from the modern world, which fitted in or tried to fit in with the modern world too. No doubt this process of adaptation will go on. But it is something which grows out of the mind and spirit of India, effected by learning many things from outside as it must be, because if we are isolated, as we were for hundreds of years, we fall back. If we are submerged by others then we have no roots left. So that this idea of Panch Shila, apart from the various aspects of it, lays down this important truth, that each people must ultimately fend for themselves. I am not thinking in terms of military fending, but in terms of striving intellectually, morally, spiritually, opening out the windows to ideas from others, learning from the experiences of others, but, nevertheless, doing it themselves,

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and those other countries should look upon this problems of each other with sympathy and friendly understanding, without any interference or imposition.

This concept of international relations is accompanied by a certain style in the conduct of foreign policy and diplomacy which Nehru describes in the following manner:[17]

The first thing therefore is to remove tension, this new type of diplomatic and public language which is coming into play, and we have tried to avoid it. I do not say that we are virtuous, or that we always succeed, or that we are better than others. I certainly do not say this. But we have had first of all a certain kind of training in restraint of expression under our leader Mahatmaji. We tried to avoid it in the days of our struggle, tried it against our opponents, the British, against whom we felt so strongly.

With this reflective approach to international relations, based on Gandhi's strategy and style, India has developed an indigenous technique which is nevertheless universal in its intentions.

To Nehru, this reflective and yet dynamic policy seemed to be to set an example of non-violent social change and advancement for the under-developed areas, thus providing an alternative to the violent and coercive methods of Communism. This policy had to be based on internal and external restraint, which guaranteed the social peace within the country and the international peace without, so essential to such an experiment. Internationally this restraint was expressed in the Panch Shila, and in attempts at mediation of international conflicts and in an emphasis on a better political atmosphere; "restraint" also means a consolidation of power by means of social improvement and a restriction of defense alliances to a necessary minimum, and to areas which can be defended.

This is precisely the attitude which India has adopted to-ward Communist China, especially during the Tibetan crisis. To Indian leaders this crisis has been a lesson in restraint. Superficial commentators have said that this crisis has been an "eye-opener" to Indian policy-makers. In fact, however, the course of events has confirmed India's emphasis on a policy of restraint which she has pursued hitherto.

During the debates in the Indian Parliament on Tibet, Nehru has restated all the elements of India's foreign policy which have been outlined here with. On April 27, 1959, he said:[18]

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A tragedy has been and is being enacted in Tibet, passions have been let loose, charges made and language used which cannot but worsen the situation and our relations with our northern neighbour. I am sure that the house will agree with me that in considering matters of such high import, we should exercise restraint and wisdom and use language which is moderate and precise.

The only new feature which may have been introduced into India's foreign policy by the recent developments is the attempt of holding on to the principle of Panch Shila unilaterally in the hope that the agitated neighbour will come to his senses as time goes by. India has had the experience of unilateral restraint in maintaining satyagraha toward the British.

In recent years, however, there has been a growing appreciation of India's policy of non-alignment, because in a world of instability this policy seemed to emerge as one of the few factors of some permanence and consistency. As compared with the attitude of other newly independent and non-aligned nations India's brand of non-alignment appears to be a rather moderate and balanced policy which has almost attained the dignity of a conservative posture. In keeping with this tradition Nehru was expected to restrain the more radical stalwarts of non-alignment at the Belgrade meeting of non-aligned nations.

Finally, one may say that the reflective approach to world affairs would seem to have inherent limitations; the general norms to which one nation subscribes, may not apply to the particular situation of another nation; the particular experience of one nation might lead to reflections and generalizations which do not include the different experiences of other nations. In both cases a wider scope of vision may improve the connections between the general and the particular, and thus between the nations concerned. To quote a pertinent view in this connection, George F. Kennan in his speech on world affairs said:[19]

Our diplomacy can never be stronger than the impression we contrive to create in others, not just by virtue of what we do but rather and even more importantly—by what we are. What greater error could there conceivably be than the belief that weapons however terrible could ever protect selfishness, timidity, shortsightedness, and lassitude from the penalty that awaits them over the long run in the general

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competition of international life? What greater error than to suppose that such things as courage and vigor and confidence cannot assert themselves in world affairs without the aid of the hydrogen bomb?

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Nehru & Our Asian Neighbours

R. Chakrabarti

It is instructive, in perhaps more than one respect, to review the regional dimension of Nehru's foreign policy. Soaring idealist with a global fixation—this commonly held image of Nehru fades into the background and out comes the other Nehru, much more down to earth than the one who liked so much to talk about Asian solidarity and restitution of the bond that got snapped due to machinations of colonial rule. Nehru the visionary was keen to see the Asian nations rise above separatism. But Nehru the statesman, the policy-maker, had to take each nation separately and direct his attention to the specific problems posed and faced by each different Asian country. He had to judge for himself what the leaders of these countries were all up to, what that meant for India as a peaceable yet genuinely concerned neighbour and finally, what courses were open for any wellmeaning action that India could possibly take.

To examine Nehru's Stewardship of the country's foreign relations from this relatively less explored angle is to reopen certain problematics such as i) the relative weight assigned by Nehru to regional issues *vis-a-vis* those of global dimension; ii) the methodology or approach he implicitly followed in working out diplomatic equations with the other Asian countries; and iii) the extent to which an idealist vision also left room for a power vision concerning the Asian neighbours.

Much has been said and written on the first and the third aspects, involving political judgements, short-range as well as long range, often to vindicate a certain stance. For instance, one could use al available evidence to show that Nehru preoccupied himself too much with world politics to work out a systematic and sensible policy in relation to the regional questions. Again, considering the fact that India has increasingly fewer sympathisers, far less associates, in the neighbouring regions, one could as well shift a lot of today's predicaments to a less than thorough handling of the same during Nehru's time. On the other hand, one could emphasize how Hehru's world-outlook constantly acted as a healthy restraint on forces and tendencies that were too impatient to take a long view and stop blowing out of proportions every temporary crisis in short-range national interest. This paper refrains from any categorical

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assessment of either description. Instead an attempt will be made here to reconstruct the way Nehru's mind possibly worked when faced with a concrete issue or an emerging trend in another Asian country that could be a cause of concern for India as well. What needs to be explored is not the outcome but the process of decision-making in so far as it was one man's decision all the way.

A preliminary question of method that needs to be considered is: how does one get to know the actual working of Nehru's mind? On what kind of information should one try to reconstruct the intellectual exercise in which Nehru engaged before formulating the specifics of his policy? The problem is relatively simple as well as complicated. Simple because here one has to deal with a basically one—man's musings as distinguished from a multi-partite exchange or debate out of which a national consensus was to emerge. With Nehru, both the debate and the consensus had to be internalised by the same person as there was hardly anything approaching a foreign-policy caucus within the national leadership at that time. Even if he sensed some differences on external affairs either among his colleagues or among the opposition stalwarts in the parliament, ultimately it fell on Nehru, and he knew it pretty well, to say and do all that he thought was conducive to the interests of the nation. So what he wrote or spoke on could be a useful guide to identify and put in place the vital propositions with which Nehru built up his schema and of which his public statements were but subsequent rationalisation.

At the same time the problem is complicated by the fact that most of Nehru's declaratory postures entail so much of emotional trappings that there is always the need to deflate the enunciations and reduce them into working propositions that really matter for a statesman who must implement and apply what he enunciates. A further difficulty, though not unavoidable, is that of looking at Nehru through other people's eyes—through reports, memoirs, biographies written by distinguished people who were perhaps close to Nehru and yet could not help being presumptive and clinging to some chosen stereotype about such a towering personality. True, these secondary materials have their own relevance in any Nehru-assessment. Nonetheless, it will be perhaps more authentic if we also relied on commentaries that came straight from Nehru's pen and were meant for the perusal of some of his very close confidants who also knew what it meant to exercise power with responsibility. One such source is the volume of letters which Nehru was in the habit of writing regularly to the provincial Chief Ministers ever since he took the reins of the country's foreign policy. In these letters

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Prime Minister Nehru made it a point to apprise the Chief Ministers of the major developments in the international arena and his own response to them. In doing so he was not only taking them into confidence but also giving them the quintessence of his foreign policy calculations. Since he was writing to some of the most eminent personalities in charge of provincial governments, who did not pose any challenge to his line of action, he need not enter into undue polemics with them. These letters therefore gave a plain and simple exposition of how Nehru the foreign policy-maker was going about his tasks. On the one hand they reflected the instantaneous response of Nehru to events and situations abroad; on the other they also held a key to the maturing of Nehru's thinking on issues that were continuing and falling into a pattern. In the intervening period Nehru might have patiently listened to the observations of his colleagues in cabinet, leading parliamentarians, top aides of the external affairs ministry as well as diplomatic representatives of foreign countries. Naturally these numerous inputs, even though they were not specifically mentioned in these letters, must have gone into his policy calculations. As a result if one follows the thread carefully, it is possible to identify the long chain of reasoning which Nehru was continuously making and un-making in order to arrive at a coherent decision.

II

One is struk by the variety of issues on which the late Prime Minister had the patience to write in the most lucid and yet most perceptive language. In this paper we shall pick up at random certain issues which frequently appeared in the correspondence under reference and then try to reach some tentative conclusions about the three problematics mentioned earlier. These may be grouped under the following categories: (i) The raison d' etre of India's concern for other Asian countries; (ii) Communist insurgency elsewhere; (iii) West Asia and the question of Pan-Islamic threat; (iv) Conciliatory gesture towards Pakistan; (v) The problem of Indians abroad. Incidentally, a distinction has to be drawn between Nehru's views on the victory of communism in China and his opinion about communist insurgency elsewhere. Connected with this lies the whole gamut of India-China relations including the Tibet question and the border conflict. Hence it will be taken up separately at some length towards the end of the paper.

On the rationale of India's concern for developments in Asia one can perhaps bring in umpteen number of citations from Nehru's speeches

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and writings after independence. Instead let us go back to a note which he wrote as early as September 1927 during his sojourn in Switzerland-perhaps a little too early to lay down a foreign policy framework for independent India. With unusual forward-looking conviction Nehru wrote:

"In developing our foreign policy we *shall naturally* first cultivate friendly relations with the countries of the East which have so much in common with us". Then he mentioned a host of countries from Egypt to Annam, including of course China and Japan, with whom he wanted to develop the "closest contact"[1]. Twenty years later, speaking at the Asian relations conference at New Delhi (23 March 1947) Nehru announced "India is the *natural* centre and focal point of the many forces at work in Asia"[2]. From this arose, according to Nehru, a 'duty to forge links' in the future.

Here we have two interesting elements of a regional policy frame. In the first place the regional connection is looked upon not merely as incidental or secondary to other pursuits but as something 'natural'—an expression which appears again and again in his writings. Secondly this natural link is not something that must stay where it was; on the contrary it should be renewed and reinforced with increasing vigour and purposive action.This is not just afuturistic proposition but a clear signal for some concrete move that Nehru was ready to take at the earliest possible opportunity to make India's Asian ties meaningful and strong in the years to come. The amount of personal attention he paid to the preparatory work for the Asian Relations Conference (1947) and the Bandung Conference (1955) is pretty well-known. However Nehru was aware that this would involve a lot of planning and spade-work. On this point it is interesting to read this sentence in his correspondence:

> **To begin with, our foreign missions developed more in Western countries than in Eastern Gradually the centre of gravity of our foreign relations is shifting to Asia. Some of the big powers have naturally an importance of their own. But for us, our neighbour countries such as Nepal, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon and Afganistan have a peculiar importance.**[3]

Was Nehru so overly obsessed with the bigger issues of world politics that he had little time of the Asian neighbours of India?

An engaging issue which affected many a new nation of Asia at this time was the phenomenon of communist insurgency. The authorities in

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each country were dealing with this problem in their own way. In India also the then communist party was seized by a militant mood, trying to deny the ruling party a smooth sailing in the consolidation of its power. Violent upsurge in Telengana and some parts of Bengal were really disturbing for Nehru's government. The line Nehru adopted was, firm and yet cautious enough not to let any great public sentiment grow over the issue. Though many were interned, Nehru knew that banning the party or large scale arrests would be counter productive. Let us, in this context, turn to Nehru's reaction to the left insurgency which had erupted in other parts of Asia. In Burma, for instance, the Karens were demanding secession. Thakin Nu's government offered certain concessions. Nehru records his views in the following words:

> **We suggested some kind of mediation in the Burmese government since Thakin Nu has felt that perhaps this was not the best time to offer mediation, we are, therefore, not taking any step for the present.**[4]

Since the communists were reportedly in secret alliance with the Karens Nehru noted how "Civil strife bring strange bed-fellows together".

Regarding Malaya Nehru did not miss the fact that more and more armed forces and aircrafts were being needed by the British authorities to suppress the rebellion there. He particularly noted that whatever the role of the communists, the rebellion "could not have assumed such large proportion unless there was a great deal of discontent and economic distress. It is strange that while every effort is being made to suppress the rebellion by force, little attention is paid to the economic aspect"[5]

In a similar vein he looked back to the Middle East and recalled how it had been the traditional policy of the Anglo-American imperialists to support feudal and reactionary regimes there, ostensibly to raise a barrier against Russia and to keep their control over the oil fields. He would concede: "undoubtedly communist expansion must be met" but he would also contend that" it cannot be met adequately with the support of reactionary and feudal regimes"[6]. In other words Nehru had no softness for communism as such and clearly wanted the nationalist forces in each country to get the better of the communists. He perceived, correctly perhaps, that the roots of radical revolt occurring in Asia lay in the antiquated and iniquitous social order. And the first priority of any nationalist government, in his view, would be not only to restore order but also to introduce immediate social & economic reforms to improve the living conditions of the people. India's policy in this context was

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supposed to be one of remaining watchful of the events and to refrain from undue interference, though India's mediation, if solicited was not to be denied. Communism apart, Nehru was also alerted to another important threat which emanated from the Pan Islamic movement. Once again, Nehru would look upon it as a hang-over of the old imperialist policy of using feudal elements in their own commercial interest. Nehru was aware that the Muslims were still a substantial minority in India and there were scheming politicians who could destabilise the country by arousing religious sentiments among them. Yet he was not convinced that Pan Islamism would at all be a threat to India. In his 1927 note he wrote "this is pure fancy. Every one of the Islamic countries is developing on intensely national lines and there is absolutely no room in them for an external policy based on religion"[7]. This was indeed too sweeping a judgement. Later events, especially during Indo-Pak wars, proved that nationalism could well come to terms with cross-national bonds of religion. However, it should be conceded that Nehru with his secular orientation entailed a different view of politics. He could hardly reconcile himself with narrow religious consideration. Even in his dealings with a hostile Pakistan he took a liberal and rational posture that was highly likely to be misunderstood by others. He wrote "more and more it seems to me that we have to deal with a case of national neurosis in regard to Pakistan we are criticized for being weak and for appeasing Pakistan, and we are called upon to retaliate. I am convinced that there could be no greater folly for us than to move away from our own principles"[8].

This conciliatory posture towards Pakistan was further revealed in his genuine efforts for apeaceful solution of the Kashmir problem. In an interview given to Michael Brecher he said "the Kashmir problem is a result of other conflicts between India and Pakistan, and even if the Kashmir problem were resolved well, not in a friendly way, those basic conflicts wouid countinue. If it were solved in a really friendly way then, of course, it would help"[9]. He knew perfectly well that the imperialist powers were eager to exploit the situation by taking side with Pakistan. Pakistan was made a member of the Middle Eastern defence pact of the West. The West's calculation, as Nehru saw, was that "it was through Pakistan that the Islamic bloc of nations could be most easily controlled" and if Pakistan could get Kashmir it would be all the more formidable.[10]. Nonetheless Nehru is very much on record that he did not want the Kashmir issue to remain a permanent sore vitiating a healthy relation between the two countries. Mr. Y.D. Gundevia, the then Commonwealth Secretary and later Foreign Secretary in the Nehru Administration, gives a trusted insider's account, in a fairly detailed and engrossing manner, of

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as many as six rounds of talks which took place between Pakistan and India with full encouragement of Nehru. It not only shows how keen Nehru was to settle the Kashmir issues in 1963 by even making some territorial concessions or territorial adjustment. This was a critical period for India which had suffered a humiliating military defeat at the hands of China; it was also a very tense year when the western powers were pressuring India to come to terms with Pakistan as a price for the little military aid they were going to offer for strengthening India's defence against China. Not unexpectedly, the initiative as well as the perseverance of Indian diplomats ended in a fiasco. Pakistan would not settle for any thing less than a total cession of the Kashmir valley.[11] Her intransigence was whetted by western indulgence (one wonders what for, after all Pakistan never spent a bullet in Korea, Indochina or elsewhere against the communists). Otherwise Z.A. Bhutto could not possibly throw cold waters on the Indian proposals for a rapprochement and fly straight to Peiking while the negotiations were still going on in order to announce a border agreement with China regardless of the fact that it impinged on some disputed territory in Kashmir. These were certainly bad news for Nehru who had pinned so much faith in China's goodwill. Was he giving in to American pressures for a settlement with Pakistan in order to get western military assistance? This is the last thing he would do. He would not mind a new international boundary being drawn between Pakistan and India by mutual consent, even though it involved some territorial concession to the advantage of Pakistan. But getting things done in the manner Dean Rusk, the then U.S. Secretary of State and Duncan Sandys, British Foreign Minister, wanted was simply out of the question. As Gundevia records, "Jawaharlal told us late in the evening: With one more word on mediation, and I'll throw the lot of them out of the room !"[12]

His intellectual, and moral constitution was such that he would be the last person to make any opportunistic deal with any other power that was ready to come down heavily on Islam on religious-racial consideration. Israel is the case in point. Even though Israel belonged to the Western Camp Nehru could easily make matters difficult for the Western powers by playing up the anti-Islamic Sentiment of the newly born Jewish State. Nehru had thoroughly pondered over the question of recognition of Israel and came to the conclusion: "any action that we may take must be guided not only by idealistic consideration but also a realistic appraisal of the situation". Of course, he was not against recognising Israel for all time to come. So he added a significant rider to

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this earlier statement "this is not an irrevocable decision and the matter will no doubt be considered afresh in view of subsequent development"[13]. It is clear enough that Nehru was not inclined to take any rigid posture with regard to development of friendly relations with other countries. Even if some of them were patently hostile, he would not buy the cheap idea of playing one nation against another for the sake of expediency.

III

Next we come to the tricky problem of Indians which had migrated and settled in other Asian countries. There were quite a lot of them. On the eve of independence there were as many as seven lac overseas Indians in Burma, as many in Ceylon and Malaya, about 30,000 in Indonesia, about 7,000 in the Middle-east and so on. They had gone there as emigrant indentured labour, petty traders and shop keepers or small office job holders. As these countries got their independence, the overseas Indians there had to face increasing ethnic tension and unfavourable treatment at the hands of the local authorities. Nehru's policy in this regard was quite clear. He did not want the overseas Indians to claim the best of both worlds. In other words he would not encourage divided loyalty as is done by China in respect of its overseas population. This was clearly recorded even in his Montana Notes of September 1927: "an Indian who goes to other countries must cooperate with the people of the country and win for himself a position of friendship and service"[14]. The case of Indians in Burma, however, became too complicated for this simple formula. The land nationalisation act of Burma (11 October 1948) had hit Indian interests hard. Nehru understood their problem though he knew that any attempt to bring them over to India was a colossal task. He therefore proposed that the Burmese government should make some changes in the act or at least give a higher rate of compensation for acquisition of land but without much success. He even sent a high power deputation with Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya, Ex-Congress President, to Burma. Yet he was not entirely unsympathetic to the plight of the Burma government which was then facing a serious ethnic insurgency. He wrote in his letters to the Chief Ministers: "Although the attitude of the Burmese government has been unyielding thus far, we must recognize that they are facing a most difficult situation they cannot easily take any step which may weaken their position"[15].

The situation was no less disturbing in Ceylon and in Malaya. Highly

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discriminatory conditions were being applied against the Indian settlers in Ceylon. Though Nehru recorded that no agreement could be arrived at between our government and that of Ceylon, he still would not overlook the sensitivity of these small neighbouring countries. As he observed, "in our dealings with our neighbouring countries like Burma and Ceylon, we have always to keep in mind two factors. One, of course, is to protect Indian interests; the other is our long-distance policy of being friendly with these countries. *We are the big brother* and we have to proceed a little gently so as not to create barriers in the way of future cooperation".[16]

Soft pedalling thus had an extraneous justification for Nehru though the consequences were not in keeping with his expectations. Even more pathetic was the condition of Indians in Malaya. Prominent trade union leaders like S.R. Ganapati and Sadashivam were arrested and executed on charges of sedition in 1949 under emergency regulations. What Nehru did? "We have protested to the U.K. government, the Malayan government and to all concerned". appeals were also made to the privy council for commutation of the life sentences. Nehru was certainly unhappy at the futility of these persuasive methods. Yet he would have his Chief Ministers consider that "there is no reason why Indians should be treated differently from the Malayans and the Chinese"[17] If the laws were bad they were bad as well for every other group of settler community. So suffer they must and yet India could not do much about it.

Perhaps the only place in the whole of South and Southeast Asia that posed no such painful prospects for Indians was Indonesia. In July 1950 Nehru visited Indonesia for the first time and came back "powerfully impressed with what I saw and emotionally moved". Fortunately it did not prove otherwise. If prior to Korea and Indo-China there was anything on the Asian continent that agitated Nehru's mind, it was the Indonesian question. Nehru registered strong protest in Western capitals and in the United Nations against the military action that the Dutch were contemplating. He proudly records "when I was in London and Paris, I took up this matter especially with other governments. I pointed out that (the Dutch action) would have the gravest consequences they would have to face unceasing guerilla war of the bitterest kind. The result, however long delayed, could only be the elimination of every Dutch man from Indonesia". Incidentally, Nehru did not fail to record how in this fight for the rights of Asian people "some of the *Asian countries* have been lukewarm". For him, however, it was a

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matter of special satisfaction that "we have championed the rights in Indonesia of a Muslim people"[18]. Was Nehru being overly anxious to prove his secular faith?

IV

On the whole therefore Nehru's dealings with the neighbouring countries were based on a sympathetic understanding of other nations' predicaments and sensitivities. Under no circumstances he would think of India's intervention, diplomatic or otherwise, in the affairs of these nations even though that meant some sacrifice of Indian interest. The overall philosophy of his foreign relations was "leave others alone as long as they do not voluntarily seek our help". Perhaps the only instance of deviation from this stay away policy was to be noticed in the case of the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal. Nehru did not conceal his disapproval of the archaic political and social structure of Nepal. Following the visit of Mohan Shamser Jungbahadur Rana, Nepal's Prime Minister in February 1950 which led to a treaty of Friendship, Nehru observed: "Unfortunately the political and social structure of Nepal is completely feudal and backward and we have been laying the greatest stress during the past two or three years for substantial reforms being introduced. I regret to say that practically no results have been reached thus far in spite of this *pressure* it is not our desire to interfere in Nepal in any way but we cannot remain unaffected of something that has its repercussions outside Nepal. He apprehended that the disaffected people of Nepal might some day "look elsewhere for help". Though he was not in favour of any formal military commitment in regard to Nepal, it was perfectly clear to him that "in the event of any aggressor attacking Nepal we cannot remain indifferent. From that point of view defence of Nepal becomes defence of India"[19]. This was early 1950 and Nehru was already thinking of a possible Chinese shadow over Kathmandu. The Prime Minister certainly observed the strictest possible norms of noninterference at the formal level of government. Yet it is common knowledge that the emergence of Nepal Congress under the leadership of B.P. Koirala and the brief spell of democratic rule which kept the Ranas at bay would not have been possible without active, though discreet, assistance from some influential circles in India[20].

It is remarkable that this apprehension of a possible Chinese threat to Nepal was not quite in keeping with Nehru's reaction to the Tibet issue. He was ready to take a Chinese takeover rather easy because he did not believe in the doctrine of contagion. He thought that "Chinese

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communist regime may spread to Tibet. Yet there is no military danger from that quarter to India. The best guarantor of India's safety from that frontier is the inhospitable terrain and climate"[21]. To his utter dismay both the Himalayan terrain and the supposed friendship of China proved equally deceptive. It was not just a stab in the back; on the contrary it was a refusal to see the dagger when it was being unsheathed. China's leaders, unlike Nehru, were free from all sentimentality and believed in *Real Politik* where their national interests were concerned. With the benefit of hindsight, one may as well share the shrewd comment of an eminent journalist: "Using Nehru as a Chaperone at Bandung in 1955 Chou quietly and secretly established the first bridge-head with Pakistan in preparation for a war which was still seven long, long years of argument, accusation, nibbling, haggling, deceit and perfidy, away"[22]

Was there any way out? Perhaps there was, perhaps there was not. Nehru should have got the scent of what the Chinese were capable of from the very dav they occupied Tibet without caring a fig for the special relations independent India had with that bufferstate. Nehru could perhaps pay back by insisting on a status for Tibet that was comparable to that of Bhutan so far as India was concerned. Such an action could have elicited western support and possibly confronted China with a second front during the Korean war. But Nehru had no desire to fight fire with fire. Peace for the third world was upper-most in his mind. Hence he would rather condemn the West for its senseless act of crossing the 38th parallel and forcing China to retaliate. And even after the Chinese attack, he would not go back on his avowed principle of getting China back to the United Nations. Could he really succeed if he retaliated? Possibly he could not because there was no guarantee that the West would like to make a common cause with India and go the whole hog to help her fight back the force of China. Even if they promised to do so they would have demanded a very high price, namely, the dignity and independence of remaining nonaligned in the face of a mad ideological cold war. Would not the Soviet Union also reassess the value of her new-found connections with India?

There could be endless speculation on such questions but those would be out of the place for the present analysis. What is more important is: Did India gain much in return of the friendship, sympathy and a sense of solidarity with which Nehru tried to build a nexus between India and her Asian neighbours? The sceptic would immediately nod his head in the negative direction. No, we have gained precious little. Rather, we had greater disappointments coming from other quarters. Many of our Asian neighbours became a fencesitter after the Chinese

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attack. This time it was their turn to play 'nonalignment' with India so as not to incur the displeasure of China by helping India in her distress. Indonesia, Burma and Cambodia remained strictly neutral on the India-China issue. And there was a *volte face* when they heard that Nehru did not mind accepting American military aid at this desperate hour. Eyebrows were raised and the credibility of India's nonalignment came to be questioned. If the Indonesian Foregin Minister Subandrio said, "Indonesia has no desire to be a mediator unless there is a point of meeting that both countries can accept", the Malayan Premier Tengku Abdul Rahaman talked of a fund-raising activity clearly out of mercy for India while President Maccapagal of the Philippines criticised India's failure to realise the " deadliness of the threat of communism"[23]. Was not India entitled to a more respectable and reassuring treatment from her Asian neighbours? The reality was that some of these Asian neighbours were psychologically, if not contractually, aligned to the west and therefore did not like Nehru's equidistance from the rival powers. A few others like Cambodia and partly also Indonesia did not like to antagonise China. Furthermore Indian diplomacy at this stage suffered a great set back because the Chinese version of the border conflict got wider circulation among the South East Asian people through local and left-wing newspapers as well as powerful transmission from the Peiking radio. The feeble publicity granted by the pro-west media to the Indian version could hardly neutralise the effects of Chinese propaganda.

V

However as stated at the outset we are not concerned here with the outcome of or even the deficiencies of Nehru's management of Asian relations. Suffice it to say here that the entire Asian policy of Nehru stemmed from a totally different political philosophy which was marked by an unsuspecting acceptance of the declaratory gestures of other statesmen as well as a reasonable expectation of good faith and reciprocity in international politics. Clearly, this could not be enough. An astute policy-maker must also guard against any unpalatable contingencies and breach of faith. Be that as it may, let us go back to the three problematics stated earlier, particularly the second one: Our question was: what methodology one could possibly trace in respect of Nehru's handling of a particular situation or problem with regard to another Asian country? There has not been much speculation, far less authentic analysis, on this question. Hence the observations that follow should be taken as tentative rather than definitive.

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In the first place Nehru all along relied on certain axiomatic propositions from which he would deduce certain conclusions and then apply the same to the concrete situation in hand. To him it was *natural* that India and other Asian countries should develop the closest possible contact. The only barrier that stood in the way was that of imperialism. Independence brought into power nationalist leadership everywhere which, according to his logic, must make good the lapse. While this was a reasonable view of what ought to happen Nehru did not ponder enough to see if there were counter-manding forces as well working in an opposite direction. Much of his dream would prove unreal if the leadership of the new nations were given to inward-looking policies, if they failed to leave the past behind, if they chose the path of conflict to settle some old scores and if they came to terms with neo-imperialism. In any case, the transition from independence to international solidarity was not going to be a smooth one. Yet Nehru wanted to remain optimist and that is what constituted one of the main assumptions of his regional policy. This only demonstrated his attachment to a priori notions and a deductive method of analysis.

Secondly, and by contrast, he would always look upon nationalism as the supreme factor in shaping the policies and outlook of other Asian nations in the same manner as he would like to see for his own country. Though this was not an altogether unerring vision, there was a great deal of truth in according a high weightage to the factor of nationalism in the relations of new nations. Thus Nehru had correctly traced the nationalist roots of communist leadership in China and elsewhere. But nationalism as a powerful psychological condition cannot be separated from the myriad concrete interests as well as some die-hard historical perception, often culturally determined, which must guide the leaders everywhere in the crucial areas of decision-making. The kind of nationalism to which Nehru gives the pride of place in his analysis consists essentially in a spirit of independence, and its working manifestation, according to Nehru's expectations, was a commitment to international cooperation and an active resistance against imperialist designs. But anti-imperialism in the sphere of policy entails something more than mere patriotism; it calls for a social economic conviction that permits one to realise the basic link between the interests of the exploiters and the exploited in one's own country with their counter part in other countries. National leadership is quite capable of making compromise with the more powerful interests within the society and forget all about international solidarity or putting up a fight against imperialism. Again nationalism can assume a non-secular face and utilize communal passion in order to destroy good

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neighbourly relations with an adjacent country. This could be a convenient excuse for some countries to mix up nationalism with militarism as well as religious sentiments. In building bridges with countries of this description Nehru took greater care of the unholy tendencies in his own country than the pernicious connivance with which leadership in other countries tried to whip up public passion. In short, little differentiation was made by Nehru in his treatment of Nationalism in the third world.

Thirdly, even if he had empirical evidence of bad political management in other countries Nehru was not going to be swayed from his conviction of fair play in the long run. Thus the plight of overseas Indians in other Asian countries has been dealt with mainly on the basis of this dispassionate approach. Of course he would try to exhaust all available good offices to prevent deterioration of a situation. Nonetheless he would never contemplate an activist stand lest that should upset the possibility of a healthy neighbourly relations. He talked about our West-ward tendency and a need of making Indian diplomacy more Asia oriented. Yet he is not on record to have done much about streamlining our embassies and re-educating our diplomatic personnel to project a credible image of the country. Maintaining a low profile with immediate neighbours while seeking an increasingly prominent role at the global level was part of his strategy. This was not because he was overly attracted by world politics. Rather he wanted India to be looked upon as a benign, compassionate enduring *'big brother'* (an expression which he used in one of his letters on the plight of Indians in Burma). This metaphor of big brother however came to acquire a sinister implication in regional politics before long. Nobody would ever trust the big. Fear him if compelled, follow him if need be but hardly reciprocate his noble sentiments. A big brother who has not proved resolute enough is likely to be harassed by the little brothers every time they fail to elicit the desired amount of indulgence from the former. Yet it must be conceded that this kind of wariness did not quite fit in with Nehru's scheme of things.

Finally, this brings us to the question of idealist vision versus power vision. True enough, Nehru wanted India to be great, acquiring a prominent position in the comity of nations and preaching it high values. In his calculation India was not expected to be "and odd man out in the world"[24]. But how to ensure this greatness not by force, not by intimidation, not by shrewd diplomacy and certainly not through the old politics of alliances and balance of power? To discard these conventional weapons in the armoury of the foreign ministry and yet achieve

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eminence was indeed a difficult proposition. Still Nehru was always ready to tread the uncommon path. The only exceptional case in which we notice some action-oriented programme during his time was in the case of Nepal then under the control of the Ranas. Otherwise Nehru,s method of seeking greatness for India relied mostly on an attempt to restructure the global political order through the grand strategy of nonalignment. This would, on the one hand, deny the big powers easy hold on a large part of the globe and on the other, prepare an international base for India's foreign policy. To the extent he succeeded in initiating and implementing this strategy he also secured a corresponding recognition of India's eminence in the regional context. But the failure to give it a content in terms of national strength deprived India of any great leverage with the Asian neighbours.

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20. M.J. Akbar, *Nehru: The Making of India*,(Viking, Penguin 1988) pp. 553-54.
21. LCM vol. I p. 486. This he wrote on the eve of India's recognition of PRC Government. Later, of course, he became doubtful and on 17 November 1950 amended his line of thinking in these words. "The development of Tibet suddenly made public realise that China might have a common frontier with India. Also the Himalayan barrier was not quite so effective as it used to be. What would happen when China, with its new-born strength and dynamism and a certain aggressiveness came right upto the borders of India?"

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22. M.J. Akbar op.cit. p. 533.
23. Asis Kumar Majumdar, South-east Asia in Indian Foreign Policy (Naya Prakash, Calcutta 1982), pp. 53-68.
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Nehru And Nonalignment

Shreekrishna Jha

Nehru was evidently one of the progenitors of nonalignment. No other individual than him can be credited to have contributed so much to the development of this concept; yet, it will be too naive or chauvinistic to call him the sole architect of nonalignment. The role and contribution of at least two other Third World leaders, late Abdul Gamel Nasser, the President of the United Arab Republic and late Marshal Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, in this regard cannot and should not be obfuscated and ignored. If Nehru was the originator and the philosopher of the idea of nonalignment, it was Nasser, and more so, Marshal Tito, who nurtured the tender plant of nonalignment. Tito protected and treated it nearly for two decades. Had his affectionate and healing touch and tutelege been not available, the nonaligned movement would have most likely come to a halt or disintegrated, especially at the time of the Havana Summit in 1979. Therefore, it will be grossly unjust to maintain, as in fact is being done by some nonalignmentologists, that nonalignment was essentially Afro-Asian in its origin. History bears testimony to the fact of its having Afro-Eurasian, and not Afro-Asian, parenthood. The Brione meeting in 1956 between Nehru, Nasser and Tito, the triumverate of nonalignment in its infancy, representing informally indeed the aspirations of the new and non-bloc nations in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe, was of considerable import to the articulation of the fundamentals of nonalignment. Subsequently the mutual discussion and consultation of this triumvirate with President Nkrumah of Ghana and President Sukarno of Indonesia in 1960 at the initiative of Yugoslavia in its UN mission premises widened the consensus on the suitability of this policy for the Third World countries. The main point here to emphasise is that while Nehru propounded the philosophy of nonalignment especially in the context of India's foreign policy, Tito made considerable efforts to internationalize the concept.

There is some confusion, however, on the question as to who coined and used the term 'nonalignment for the first time. In his interview to Michael Brecher, late V.K. Krishna Menon has claimed that it was he who did it sometime in the early fifties. The word, according to Krishna Menon, was then picked up by Nehru who subsequently

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become very fond of it and publicized it through his foreign policy speeches. On the other hand, the President of Sri Lanka, Jayewardene, declared in the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of Nonaligned countries on 6 June 1979 that the word was used for the first time by the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in April 1954 in his address to the Colombo Conference.

It is difficult to controvert the contention of Krishna Menon. A very fertile mind as he was, endowed with an-exemplary gift of fine oration in English, it does not seem to be unlikely that he would have used this word in one of his informal and intimate chat with Nehru, who attached considerable importance to the former's intellectual quality, diplomatic ability and intelligent perspective of international politics. Nevertheless, there is no documentary evidence to it except Menon's own recollection and assertion. In any case, one thing is quite clear that if at all the word had been used by Menon, it had been done in a purely private and secret conversation and the first public use of it was evidently made by Jawaharlal Nehru himself.

President Jayewardene seems to be both correct and wrong at the same time. He is correct in asserting that it was Nehru who used the term for the first time but he is liable to correction when he says that Nehru did this in the Colombo Conference in 1954. It is on record that in his reply to the debate on foreign affairs in the House of the People on 12 June 1952 Nehru made use of the word "nonalignment". However, the word really came in wide currency after 1958 and, more so after 1961, when the idea of nonalignment took a concrete shape and was crystalized in the larger context of international politics. Even at the time of the first Nonaligned Summit Conference in Belgrade in 1961, the term nonalignment was not quite acceptable. The Conference, in fact, had been called the conference of the unaligned nations.

This is, however, not to subscribe to the view that there was no nonalignment before 1961. In fact, to do so, will be tantamount to distorting history and displaying one's monumental ignorance of the process of India's foreign policy evolution. It has been authentically demonstrated and repeatedly underlined by a number of erudite Indian nonalignmentologists that the basic foundations of non-alignment were laid in course of India's struggle for freedom itself. In course of its prolonged freedom movement India developed a kind of world view which was subsequently projected through the framework of non-alignment. Hence, though the term 'nonalignment' was not used before 1952, its basic tenets had been clearly spelt out by Nehru in his very first speech relating to free India's foreign policy as early as 7 September

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1946 i.e., just six days after the interim government came into being on 2 Sept. 1946. Nehru, while outlining the main features of independent India's foreign policy, declared:

> We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another, which have led in the past to two world wars and which may again lead to disaster on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the reorganisation in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races. We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism, wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised. We seek no domination over others and we claim no privileged position over other peoples. But we do claim equal and honourable treatment for our people wherever they may go and we cannot accept any discrimination against them.[1]

Subsequently, he reiterated his stand and clarified it. Speaking in the Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) on 4 December 1947 he explained the implications of what he intended to be his policy of non-alignment by saying: "We have proclaimed during the past years that we will not attach ourselves to any particular group. That has nothing to do with neutrality or passivity or anything else."[2] Again on 8 March 1948, while pointing out the disadvantage of joining a bloc he asserted:

> What does joining a bloc mean? After all it can only mean one thing; give up your view about a particular question, adopt the other party's view on that question in order to please it and gain its favour. It means that and nothing else.[3]

It was only a little later .i.e. on 9 December 1958, Nehru more clearly explained the quintessence of his policy. To quote his words:

> When we say our policy is one of non-alignment with military blocs, it is not a negative policy. It is a positive one, a dynamic one. But, in so far as the military blocs today and the cold war are concerned, we do not align ourselves with either blocs. This in itself is not a policy; it is only part of a policy. The

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policy itself can only be a policy of acting according to our best judgement, and furthering the principal objectives and ideals that we have.[4]

Nehru did not merely confine himself to explaining the meaning and content of non-alignment; he also made positive contribution to propagate and popularize the idea among the new nations for their security, peace and freedom. The two Asian Relations Conferences convened at his initiative in 1947 and in 1949 in New Delhi, the Bandung conference in 1955 in which also he played a crucial role and where his doctrine of *Panchsheel* containing the five vital principles of inter-state relations were acclaimed and endorsed by the participants, and his meetings and discourse with Nasser and Tito, in Brioni in 1956, were diplomatic exercises of considerable importance in the evolution of this policy. Though these conferences and meetings cannot properly be called nonaligned conferences, they did provide a base to this policy in its embryonic stage and add respectability to it.

Nonalignment has become today a much more comprehensive concept than what it was in the beginning. Even during Nehru's time it was not quite confined to any fixed connotational regidity. As a viable foreign policy choice, it has had an element of resilience in it. Hence Nehru had to explain its meaning and essential elements from time to time.

Notwithstanding all this, the basic requirement for a country to be called nonaligned was to abstain from joining any bloc, either the Anglo-American or the communist one, in the confrontational politics of the cold war.[5] That way it was generally construed to mean a neutral, negative, passive and isolationist policy. But it was certainly not the correct meaning or intent of Nehru's nonalignment. As such Nehru made it clear repeatedly. As early as in 1950 he tried to remove this misunderstanding about his concept of nonalignment by saying:

We wanted to follow not a merely neutral or negative policy but a positive one, naturally helping those forces that we consider right and naturally disapproving of the things that we do not like, but fundamentally keeping away from other countries and other alignments of powers which morally lead to major conflicts. That does not mean that, in our economic life or in other spheres of life, we do not incline, this way or that; it does, however mean, in the jargon of the day, that we do not line up with this or that set of forces but try to

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maintain a certain friendliness and spirit of cooperation with both the great and the small countries of the world.[6]

On the contrary, while pursuing the policy of nonalignment Nehru wished to remain on the "closest terms of friendship with other countries". He firmly declared: "We shall be friends with America. We intend cooperating fully with the Soviet Union."[7] By proclaiming this, Nehru, however, did not mean his nonalignment to be a policy of equidistance with the two warring blocs. Neither he intended it to be a policy of balancing the two super powers against each other nor a strategy to keep them equally pleased. The real thrust of Nehru's nonalignment was to preserve the right of the nonaligned state to function independently of outside control or interference in international society and to consider any international issue on its merit, indeed in keeping with its national interest. He made it clear in the Indian Parliament:

It is certainly true that our instructions to our delegates have always been, to consider each question first in terms of India's interest, secondly on its merits and not merely to do something or give a vote just to please this power or that power, though, of course, it is perfectly natural that in our desire to have friendship with other powers, we avoid doing anything which might irritate them.[8]

Nehru's concept of nonalignment is quite different from isolationism. True, there is some semblance of resemblance between Nehru's nonalignment and the Monroe doctrine which was the cornerstone of America's policy of isolationism. But the two are essentially poles apart. To quote Nehru:

So our policy will continue to be not only to keep a loof from power alignments, but try to make friendly cooperation possible. Fortunately we enter upon our independence as a country with no hostile background in regard to any country. So we approach the whole world on a friendly basis and there is no reason why we should put ourselves at a disadvantage by becoming unfriendly to any group.[9]

Thus in Nehru's concept of nonalignment there was no preconceived notion of enemies. All are to be treated as friends unless, of course, some one proved to be contrary. Moreover, while remaining

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quite apart from power blocs, a nonaligned state, Nehruthought, was in a far better position to cast its weight at the right moment in favour of peace, and meanwhile its relations could become as close as possible in the economic or other domain with such countries with whom it could easily develop them. So it was not a question of such a state's remaining isolated or cut off from the rest of the world. To quote Nehru:

> **We wish to have the closest contacts because we do from the beginning firmly believe in the world coming closer together and ultimately realizing the ideal of what is now being called one world. But India, we are convinced, can help in that process far more by taking an individual stand and acting according to her own wishes whenever any crisis arises than by merging herself with others and getting tied up in hard and fast rules.[10]**

Again, if Nehru's nonalignment was not isolationism, it was also not a 'Third Force' or 'Third Bloc' strategy. Nehru wanted to make this instrument of his policy free from any kind of militancy. Nevertheless, he wanted it to be matched by a considerable degree of firmness in opposing all variants of colonialism, imperialism, racialism, exploitation and oppression. As such, Nehru's nonalignment was not a policy of opportunism or pursuance of national interest in the narrowest sense of the term. It has had the idealist and the moralist context instead.

On the question of nonalignment emerging as the Third force, Nehru made it explicitly clear:

> **Mention has been made of a 'third force'. I have not been able to understand quite what it means. If by the term is meant a power bloc, military or other, I am afraid I do not consider it desirable, apart from the fact that it is not feasible either. The biggest countries today are small compared with the two giants. It would be absurd for a number of countries in Asia to come together and call themselves a third force or a third military power in military sense.[11]**

Having thus made clear the meaning of nonalignment, it becomes necessary to explain the main objectives Nehru wanted to achieve through this policy. In other words, what was the rationale of Nehru's nonalignment? Nehru's doctrine of nonalignment was not an abstract philosophy to moralise international politics. It was quite in keeping with the need of a particular set of states for an appropriate foreign policy. It

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was in the first place a strategy for peace and security. The newly emerged states, especially of the Afro-Asian world, following the end of the Second World War, were militarily quite incapable of defending themselves and preserving their territorial integrity and independence against the danger posed by the confrontational politics of the two great powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Nonalignment was evidently an attempt at lessening the tension in the bipolar world and extending, what Nehru used to say, 'the area of peace'. In fact the peace orientation of this policy was so much prominent that prior to the coinage and usage of this term, Nehru called it a 'peace area approach'.[12] It was an extraordinary intelligent contrivance for the containment of the cold war which was essential for the security, independence and development of the states emerging from age-old colonial domination.

Explaining the interrelationship between national security and nonalignment Nehru maintained:

> **Every country's policy, first of all, is concerned with its own security and with protecting its own progress. Security can be obtained in many ways. The normal idea is that security is protected by armies. That is partly true; it is equally true that security is protected by policies. A deliberate policy of friendship with other countries goes further in gaining security than anything else.**[13]

Nonalignment as launched by Nehru was also a good strategy for development. Being a policy stance of states which were, and are still, economically weak, the nonaligned way was deemed conducive to creating conditions for economic development. The process of economic development needs peaceful international environment as a precondition. It was nonalignment rather than alignment with either of the blocs which was logically more promising for peace and economic development.

And above all, Nehru's nonalignment was, and has actually proved to be an ideal device to ensure the functioning of weak states independently and on equal footing with the mightiest power in international politics. It enabled them to raise their voice against all sorts of devices of the powerful states viz. Colonialism, imperialism, racialism and economic strangulation and exploitation, for monopolistic control of international politics.

It really appears intriguing that being such a fiery champion of nonalignment why was Nehru not enthusiastic about the idea of holding

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international conferences of nonaligned nations? It is a known fact now that the Cairo Preparatory Meeting of June 1961 was called mainly at the initiative of Tito, who, during a long tour of Africa in February-April 1961 became convinced of the desirability and utility of such a meeting. He was wholeheartedly supported by Nasser while Nehru showed initial reluctance. This is evident from the fact that the letter of invitation to the participating states was signed by Nasser and Tito, and not Nehru. Howevar, when the holding of the meeting became a certainty, India agreed to be one of the co-sponsors. This probably Nehru did not on account of any change in his thinking on the question of a nonaligned conference, but primarily because he would not have liked to offend in any way Nasser and Tito with whom he had developed close personal contacts and diplomatic understanding. Also, while addressing the Belgrade Conference, Nehru expressed his happiness over the holding of it.[14] But it was more or less a formality.

The reasons for Nehru's reluctance have been explained by various scholars. Peter Willets, a British scholar, maintains that Nehru was reluctant to step onto any podium smaller than the world stage. It has also been pointed out that there was difference between Nehru and the sponsors of the conference on the question of priority. While Nehru wanted to give top priority to the problem of war and peace, as was made quite clear from his speech at the summit later, the other leaders attached highest importance to colonialism, the classic form of which, according to Nehru, was dead and gone. The lack of enthusiasm on the part of Nehru was also clear from the fact that he was the ninth speaker at the Belgrade Summit in 1961, the first and the last Nonaligned Summit in his life-time.

The real reason of Nehru's reluctance to, and lack of enthusiasm in, holding such international conference was perhaps his aversion to the idea of institutionalization of nonalignment. For, it was against the very spirit of his concept of nonalignment as anti-blocism. He was vehemently opposed to-bloc politics of any kind in international politics and had repeatedly brushed aside the idea of Afro-Asian states constituting a third bloc. He probably had a lurking fear that institutionalization of nonalignment would ultimately lead to or at least create an impression of the functioning of the nonaligned countries as a bloc, without of course, minimizing their differences and strengthening their unity. The fear proved correct. The people did subsequently accuse the nonaligned countries of acting as a bloc. The American representatives at the UN have repeatedly complained that the most formidable bloc in the United Nations is the alignment of the nonaligned.

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It is interesting to note in this connection that during Nehru's lifetime, New Delhi did not host any international meet on nonalignment of whatsoever kind. Even in the post-Nehru era this trend largely continued, though some meetings were held. for instance, a standing committee meeting in June 1970, three meetings of the coordinating Bureau and a mini summit in July 1976 on nonaligned news pool took place. However, it is significant that India never proposed to host a nonaligned summit in this country. Even the seventh Delhi summit held in March 1983 was an accident of history. It was scheduled to be held in Baghdad in 1982 but on account of the outbreak of a war between Iran and Iraq, the venue was shifted to New Delhi.

This is not to say that Nehru was not dedicated to nonalignment. Far from it, he was fully convinced of the rationale of nonalignment as a foreign policy strategy of individual state, though he was somewhat skeptical, it seems, of its efficacy and potentiality as a movement. No wonder, some academicians also feel now that the proliferation of the nonaligned movement has reduced its "capability and punch".

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2. *Ibid.,* p. 8.
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4. *Ibid.,* pp. 15-16.
5. Even this condition was sufficiently relaxed. A state can be aligned with a super power and yet it can also pursue the policy of nonalignment.
6. *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches,* Vol. 2, (Delhi, 1967), p. 221.
7. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 207.
8. *Ibid.,* p. 216.
9. *Ibid.,* p. 245.
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Walking a Tight Rope: India's Policy of Non-Alignment

C.P. Barthwal

None can deny the predominant role that India has played in the development of the concept of non-alignment which has emerged as a novel, distinct and an alternative model to the post-Second World War bipolar system of international relations. Prior to World War II the nations of the world were divided into belligerents and neutrals. However, when the world apparently split into two camps after the World War, the newly free nations sought to follow an independent policy of judging international issues on their merit. This policy came to be known as non-alignment. It was conceived as an answer to the setting of hostile military blocs, which were a consequence of the Cold War, trying to divide the world ideologically. This additional foreign-policy choice for states, like all innovative concepts or ideas, initially provoked strong reaction from both western and communist blocs: the United States branded it as "immoral" and the Soviet Union viewed it with suspicion, it being associated, in Soviet opinion, with the breakaway Tito and the "pro-imperialist" Jawaharlal Nehru. Grudually, however, the Soviet leadership accepted it as it found in non-alignment a convenient, ready-made anti colonial platform, and by the early 1970s even the United States came round to confer legitimacy on non-alignment.[1]

Nehru and Non-Alignment

In India, it was our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, who was largely instrumental in contributing the term non-alignment to the vocabulary of international politics and relations. Even before independence, in a broadcast to the nation on September 7, 1946, Nehru enunciated India's policy of non-alignment in the following words:

> **We propose to function so as progressively to achieve that independence in action both in our domestic affairs and our foreign relations. We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not**

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> **merely as a satellite of another nation. We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to cooperate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom. We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which had led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale [2].**

Non-alignment, as Nehru conceived it,[3], implies refraining from entering into military alliances with any country of either the western or the communist bloc. As he himself said in Lok Sabha on December 9, 1958:

> **When we say our policy is one of non-alignment, obviously it means non-alignment with military blocs.[4]**

Three years later, he again asserted:

> **Broadly non-alignment means not tying yourself off with military blocs of nations or with a nation.[5]**

Pointing out to the dangers of aligning ourselves with any power blocs, Nehru said:

> **By aligning ourselves with any one power, you surrender your opinion, give up the policy you would normally pursue because somebody else wants you to pursue another policy.[6]**

Another important ingredient of non-alignment is that a country will determine its policies for itself according to its own judgement about its needs and the merits of a case. As Nehru himself said:

> **The policy itself can only be a policy of acting according to our best judgement, and furthering the principal objectives and ideals that we have.[7]**

In other words, an independent approach to foreign policy which is not tied down to any particular time of action. This led Nehru to support the right of self-determination of nations and independence and sovereignty of states, and the right of every nation to develop freely and to decide its course of action without foreign interference, both in domestic and foreign affairs.

Non-alignment, finally, implies "maintaining friendly relations with all countries"[8] whether belonging to military blocs or not. "A non-

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aligned state has by definition no enemies: other states are either present or potential friends"[9] To quote Nehru again:

> **We propose to cooperate with all others who are prepared to cooperate with us.**[10]

In brief, non-alignment means "the refusal to take sides with one or other of the two principal opposed group of powers."[11]

Nehru chose non-alignment as an instrument of India's foreign policy in order to give fuller meaning and content to its newly achieved political independence. Nehru was not content with just formal transfer of political power; he wanted India to go beyond and shape its destiny autonomously and in a manner which protected and promoted its national interest, which lay essentially in accelerated socio-economic development.

The concept of non-alignment has grown from strength to strength. This is evident from the fact that from 25 countries subscribing to the concept of non-alignment at the first summit conference held in Belgrade in 1961 the membership rose to more than 100 in Harare in 1986. This sharp increase has been due to the fact that most countries becoming independent since 1961 have opted for non-alignment.

Non-Aligned Approach To Crisis Management

The essence of non-aligned policy is to look at every single problem arising on the horizon of world politics by itself, carefully go through the background of the problem, study the motivations that led to its emergence and finally come forward with a solution that follows the path of compromise rather than confrontation. As Professor A. Appadorai has explained it:

> **Keep the peace, try peaceful means—negotiation, inquiry, conciliation and arbitration, listen to the viewpoints of both parties to a dispute expressed by their duly constituted representatives, hesitate to condemn either party as an aggressor until facts proved by international inquiry indisputably testify to aggression; believe the bonafides of both until (there is) proof to the contrary; and explore fully possibilities of negotiation and at least localize war—this is India's view.**[12]

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Or, as Richard L. Park has put it succintly:

> **The policy of non-alignment (is) to obviate involvement in military or political commitments, thus permitting each issue to be decided on its intrinsic merits as it arises.**[13]

Obviously, nations which are aligned cannot pursue such an impartial course of action. Any such state, if it intervenes in any crisis, will be identified with the side with which it is aligned. Hence its opinion and advice will be taken to be biased. Such a state cannot, therefore, play a significant role in the resolution of international conflicts. A non-aligned country, in contrast, does not suffer from this handicap. As there is no pre-commitment on its part to any side, it has ample freedom of choice and action as crisis manager. Because of the absence of formally committed special links with either of the adversaries, it can take a more detached and objective view towards a crisis. In the circumstances its views are likely to command more respect in international community and make a kind of moral impact upon the adversaries.

Non-Alignment in Practice

The foregoing narrative makes it amply clear that whenever, there arises any specific problems or crisis, India's *modus operandi* is to study it in all its complexity including the issues involved, examine the conflicting interests and reach a middle position. It is thus like a Speaker in the parliamentary system who, after careful consideration, takes a stand on any issue, but which may often please neither the Treasury nor the Opposition. Similarly, a non-aligned country, while deciding to express itself on any international problem, has to choose its options very carefully, but may in the process take a stand which may not please either side to a dispute. The examples of India's stand on Korea, Indo-China, Hungary, the Suez and many other international problems and issues are well-known in which it took its own stand without caring or taking into consideration its own relations or consequences to either side. As Peter Willetts, quoting some of these examples. concludes:

> **these are but the highlights of India's early foreign policy that consistently matched well in practice to the later development of the ideology of non-alignment.**[14]

For example, India considered North Korean troops marching into South Korea as 'aggression' (1950). it did so because as a principle

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India is opposed to aggression of any form. Thus India was never opposed to the unification of two Koreas and in the United Nations General Assembly, India stated that it was opposed to any move that would perpetuate the division of Korea. What it opposed, however, was unification through aggression. Nehru, often questioned in Parliament about India's Korea policy, explained it in terms of the need to bring an end to the Korean war through a peaceful negotiated settlement. Defending India's acceptance of the chairmanship of Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and the establishment of the Indian Custodian Force, Nehru said:

> **Why did we go to Korea? Was it to gain honour, glory and prestige? We went to Korea because, if we had not gone, there would have been no truce and no ceasefire and the war would have gone on, with the danger of its expansion the only way first of all to get the United Nations to adopt that resolution and subsequently to see that there was agreement between the two Commands was for India to fill a gap which no other country could fill. I am not claiming any virtue for India. But it is a factual statement.** [15]

Similarly, in the 1960s India demanded the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. The principle on which this was demanded was non-intervention in another country's internal affairs and the right of self-determination for the people. Nehru was not pleased at the ongoing conflict in Indo-China specially the increased military aid to both sides. Hence he made fervent appeal for ceasefire and a negotiated settlement.

A more critical test for India's policy of non-alignment came in 1956 when Soviet forces occupied Hungary. India abstained from voting in the United Nations on west-sponsored resolutions against the Soviet Union. Later, however, India condemned, albeit belatedly, Soviet action in Hungary. By its first action, i.e., abstaining in the UN, it displeased the west. Its second action, i.e., belated Soviet condemnation, did not please the west, because it came so late that it could hardly be said to have any perceptible impact on the problem, although it annoyed the USSR as well. However, India's options were well considered: it abstained in the UN because the west-sponsored resolutions coupled Soviet withdrawal with elections in Hungary under the UN auspices which India felt would amout to interference in Hungary's internal affairs. And our expression of unhappiness against the Soviet Union was our universal opposition to any type of intervention.

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In 1956, India termed British and French invasion of the Suez canal as 'naked aggression', which was a sequel to Egyptian President Nasser nationalizing it thus ending British and French hegemony over the canal which they had through a joint-stock company. Britain and France intervened on the pretext that nationalization would prevent the hitherto existing right of free navigation. India's condemnation was, however, due to three well-deserved reasons: first, Britain did not consult the Commonwealth before taking such an extreme step; second, it was an attack on a third world country; and third, it appeared as an attempt to reestablish colonial hegemony over the Suez.

There are many more examples of India taking a just or principled stand in the international arena. For example, in 1947 India voted against a resolution in the United Nations General Assembly recommending admission of Ireland and others on the ground that the application for admission had not been recommended by the Security Council. Similarly, India refused to endorse US demand (1961-65) for depriving France and the Soviet Union of their right to vote in the General Assembly for non-payment of their respective dues for financing of the UN peace-keeping operations in the Congo, because it knew that such an action would hurt the character of the UN as universal, non partisan and effective organization.[16] A similar consideration led it not to endorse the Soviet stand against the integrity of the office of the UN Secretary-General[17] and its replacement by a *troika*, i.e., three Secretary-Generals—one from western, another from Soviet and the third from the non-aligned bloc (1960-61).

India's policy on apartheid is very clear. The continuation in South Africa of racial policies and the enactment of permanent and legal discrimination in the form of apartheid have led India to boycott South Africa and severe diplomatic relations with it. India has taken a similar strong stand against the racist policies of all-white government of Southern Rhodesia. During his tours of frontline states in 1986 our Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, urged "the adoption of new strategy to end the last traces of apartheid in the region."[18] India is opposed to colonialism of any form practised by any country. Her support for the principles of self-determination and national right to independence remains firm. It is for this reason that India has extended consistent support to groups aspiring for national independence. The latest example is the support extended to South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) which has led to Namibia reaching the threshold of independence striking a final blow against the Pretoria regime. India

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supports maintenance of world peace and for this it is committed to the goal of general and complete disarmament to bring about peace and stability in all parts of the world. However, it has consistently refused to sign the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. As Richard L. Park has pointed out:

> **India has taken the position that the Treaty is intended to safeguard the rights of five nuclear powers (US, USSR, Great Britain, France and China) at the expense of experiments for peaceful uses of nuclear energy by the developing countries. India sees nothing altruistic in the Treaty, especially when underground nuclear testing, to say nothing to stockpiling multiple-overkill number of nuclear weapons by the Great Powers, are not prohibited by the Treaty.** [19]

To add, India's stand is that when it is committed to not going nuclear, signing such a treaty would be redundant. Moreover, the treaty puts only unilateral impositions and although it prohibits non-nuclear nations becoming nuclear, those who are, can continue having nuclear arsenals and even multiply them. Due to these considerations India has not altered its reservations about the treaty, although at the cost of considerable unhappiness of both super powers.

National Interest and Non-Alignment

Non-alignment, like any other viable concept, has with time undergone a change in its nature and content. Thus there was a time when Nehru thought of "avoiding foreign entanglements by not joining one bloc or the other"[20] as the key idea of non-alignment, but later developments, especially the hositility with China and Pakistan, has had to be met by strengthening India's military might coupled with such political moves as the signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty in 1971, Indo-Bangla Treaty in 1972 and Indo-Sri Lanka Accord in 1987.

Indeed, this balancing of non-alignment with the compulsions of national interest can be seen right from the Nehru era. Thus, although "India's policy, in practice, has from independence and all through the 1950s been in conformity with non-alignment"[21], the US military assistance to Pakistan forced it to adjust non-alignment to include particularly intimate relations with the Soviet Union. "If Nehru demonstratably moved much more towards the Russian side, it was because more was at stake in conveying to the US the need for restraint, than there was in conveying to the Russians the same message.

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Overbalancing was necessary in order to balance because circumstances dictated it."[22] Similarly, the attack by China in 1962 led to the "acceptance of large-scale military assistance from a super power (US)."[23]

It was, however, in the 1970s that the real tilt came. It was due partly to India getting closer to Moscow than to Washington and partly because most of the countries belonging to the non-aligned movement began considering the Soviet Union and communism as their natural allies, and the radical among them advocated formal alignment with socialist countries. Even Janata Party which had promised to follow a foreign policy based on 'true', 'proper' and 'genuine' non-alignment[24], upon returning to power (March 1977) noticeably "played down these adjectives in the context of Indo-Soviet relations,"[25] although at the very first press conference after becoming Prime Minister, Morarji Desai reiterated that "if the Indo-Soviet Treaty involved any want of friendship with others, it would have to be changed."[26]

The perceptible closeness to Moscow has had its impact on India's perception of world affairs and somewhat led to weaken its credibility to deal with international crises. Thus India did not openly condemn military intervention by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, although it made such gestures which implied that it did not like such an action. Similarly, developments in Afghanistan led to massive military intervention there by the Soviet Union. It was the first case of a non-aligned country coming under military occupation of a super power. However, India's representative at the UN, while recalling India's vital concern for peace and security in the area and reiterating its opposition to the foreign troops in any country, went on to say:

> **The Soviet government has assured our government that its troops went to Afghanistan at the request of Afghan government and we have been further assured that the Soviet troops will be withdrawn when requested to do so by the Afghan government. We have no reason to doubt such assurance, particularly from a friendly country like the Soviet Union, with which we have many close ties.**[27]

Thus a new dimension was being added to non-alignment, namely, "if a friendly country militarily occupied another country, it was no threat to peace ot to the integrity and political independence of the country so occupied; and that any similar action by others, i.e., by countries not friendly to India, should be condemned."[28] However, during her mid-

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September 1982 visit to the USSR Mrs. Gandhi "publicly noted that India wants troops to leave though she also balanced with criticism of unnamed outside powers for helping the Afghan Insurgents."[29]

In Kampuchea, while agreeing to free and fair elections and refusal to recognize the puppet Heng Samrin regime, India did not say anything openly against the Vietnamese (pro-Russian) intervention in Kampuchea, but only said in a roundabout way that "foreign troops must withdraw".

These examples coupled with the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty of 1971 cast a shadow on India's non-aligned policy. As Richard L. Park has pointed out:

> **The signing of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of India and the USSR on August 9, 1971, may mark the beginning of a policy of close association with the Soviet Union that, over time, may change the character of India's independence in foreign policy.** [30]

It must, however, be noted in this connection that although as a non-aligned nation India rejects power politics, it also knows that international relations are not "an exercise in sainthood." India cannot, and should not, forget its national interest and the need of the hour which are equally important ingredients of the foreign policy of a country. It is these factors of national interest and need of the hour that forced India to request and accept military hardware from the west in the wake of Chinese attack of 1962. "However, because of his careful cultivation of the Soviet Union and because of his refusal to adopt the easy solution of total ideological and political opposition to China in matters unconnected with the border conflict, Nehru was at this critical moment able to save the essence of non-alignment."[31] Similarly, India's growing closeness to the Soviet Union can be understood in the light of India's perpetual conflict with Pakistan and the latter's receiving continued military assistance from the US. No doubt, when its own national interests are involved, India can, and has been, remarkably military in strategy. For example, in 1971 the Indian troops made possible the independence of Bangladesh by crossing into East Bengal and defeating Pakistani military contingent. Similar considerations forced it to despatch plane loads of supplies to belaguered Tamils in Sri Lanka, followed by sending of Indian peace-keeping force and the signing of Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord on July 19, 1987 bringing an end to the four years of bloody civil strife between the Sinhalese and the

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Tamils in Sri Lanka. Another important reason for intervening in Sri Lanka was "concern for the ethnic rights of the Tamils there and enormous pressure from the state of Tamilnadu to protect Tamils, even by intervention."[32]

Despite all this India still remains non-aligned in the sense that it has no military aliances, although it can hardly, in the changing context, avoid foreign entanglements. Non-alignment itself does not preclude political entanglements; what it precludes is military alliances. And India still remains non-aligned because it has never participated in military alliances like the SEATO or CENTO.

An Overview

The above narrative supports the thesis that pursuing non-alignment is akin to walking a tight rope. It can successfully be practised only by a country which is politically and militarily powerful and economically self-reliant, for only then it can take an independent and detached view of world affairs. An article in a newspaper has suggested, although in a lighter vein, that only the US and the USSR can be genuinely non-aligned because they are so powerful and self-sufficient that they can practically take an independent stance on any issue. "The record of India as a non-aligned power has shown that as long as the country is unable to solve its enormous poverty problem, it would remain in a state of semidependence on, rather than independence with, the rich countries of the world, whether capitalist, or socialist. As long as we continue to be aid receiving people, we shall be subject to pressures even from the nicest of patrons."[33] As former US Secretary of State. Henry A. Kissinger has said:

> **It is not clear why nations said to be in need of assistance in almost all aspects of their national life, many of which have difficulty organizing their own countries, should be presumed to be able to act with more wisdom in relation to the whole gamut of international relations.**[34]

In other words, beggars can't be choosers. Hence if India is to be really successful in pursuing the policy of non-alignment rapid self-sufficiency in all spheres is essential. Nehru understood this and, therefore, "attempted to enhance the power of India through planned development. He did not augment the war potential of the country in order to enable it to play the game of powerpolitics. His enthusiasm for enhancing the constructive and positive power of India was so intense

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that he did not sufficiently prepare for a possible war with China. It is one of his major failures as Prime Minister. Nevertheless his basic approach made India a fairly well-developed country among the developing countries."[35] Like him, his successors have concentrated on economic development, although they have given equal impetus to military build-up. The result: the same Henry Kissinger forecasts that India is destined to be one of the top five global powers in the years to come. As he himself says:

> **In a measurable period of time, say twenty to thirty years, India will become a significant country, certainly by far the strongest country in South Asia.**

It will be then that India would be able to really take a detached or non-aligned view of world politics.

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16. When United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was established in 1956, the UN was for the first time confronted with the question of financing the operation. By a majority vote it was resolved that the operations of the UNEF should be financed by laying contributions on the same principle as that which governed the regular UN budget. France, among others, joined the Sovier Union in opposing the principle of mandatory assessment for activities other that the ones covered by the regular budget.
17. The Soviet Union alleged that the then Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjoeld was playing a partisan, or in other words, pro-western role in the Congo.
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21. Peter Willetts, *Op.cit.,* p.5.
22. A.P. Rana, *The Imperatives of Non-alignment: A Conceptual Study of India's Foreign Policy Strategy in the Nehru Period,* Delhi: MacMillan, 1976, p.11.
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PART I I

THE DEMOCRAT & PARLIAMENTARIAN

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Nehru And Indian Democracy

H.M. Jain

The two outstanding leaders of the Indian national movement were Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. If it was Gandhiji who turned the Congress into a mass movement, it was Nehru who instilled into it an ideology and gave it a direction and a purpose. Nehru was destined to mould the shape of free India during the first 17 years (1947-1964) and this period will be remembered after his name. He was the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Chairman of the Planning Commission all rolled into one. Besides these key positions in the government, Nehru was also for most part the President of the ruling (Congress) Party. Many scholars have criticised Nehru for combining in his person the posts of the party president and the Prime Minister and cited this as evidence of undemocratic trait in Nehru's character. But this is taking too literal and technical a view of democracy. The truth is that Nehru voiced the deepest urges and aspirations of the people and he wanted to articulate them through the instrumentality of the party and the government and this is why he received full support from the party and the people in his policies and programmes whether it be economic planning or non-alignment in foreign affairs. It is somewhat a tribute to Nehru's genius that both planning and Non-alignment have stood the test of time and have become non-variables in India's economy and foreign policy respectively.

The first and lasting contribution of Nehru to the making of modern India is the constitution itself in the framing of which Nehru played a leading role. The Constitution embodies the highest, the noblest and the finest of his dreams. It contains his vision of the free Republic of India. It is the vision which he had longed for during the days of freedom struggle. Nehru was the moving spirit of the Constituent Assembly. He was its most authentic spokesman and its ideologue.

As Granville Austin wrote, Nehru brought to the Assembly the mind of a humanist and wide reading in political theory. He was the Assembly's idealist; he and Azad possessed its most speculative minds. Nehru frequently approached problems from a theoretical starting point, but the theories had to meet the test of facts; he was rarely, if ever, doctrinare." Austin further writes, "Nehru, Patel, Prasad, and Azad, in

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fact constituted an oligarchy within the Assembly. Their honour was unquestioned, their wisdom hardly less so. In their god-like status they may have been feared. Certainly, they were loved." An Assembly member expressed the belief prevalent in the nation that the government rested" in the hands of those who were utterly incapable of doing any wrong to the people." (Brajeshwar Prasad). Such was the esteem in which Nehru was held by his partymen, colleagues, and the people alike. If he appeared to behave autocratically there was implicit in this behaviour the willing consent of the people.

The Objective Resolution which Nehru moved in the Constituent Assembly on 9 December 1946 speaks of his high idealism and lofty vision which he wanted his countrymen to share. In the beauty of its language, in the eloquence of its narration and in the nobility of its thought, this resolution is without parallel. It was Nehru's drafting. It was from this Resolution that the Preamble to the Constitution of India was adapted. This Preamble beautifully and succinctly sums up the aspirations of a long suppressed people and brings them close to the main currents of Western civilization. This is what attracted the notice of the eminent scholar, Sir Ernest Barker, who reproduced it as an Introduction to his book, 'Principles of Social and Political Theory'.

The Preamble of the Indian Constitution embodies those high principles of politics and society which Nehru had long cherished and which it was his dream should govern the free Republic of India. These principles may in brief be summarised as liberalism, secularism, democracy, socialism and internationalism. These principles underlie parts III and IV of the Indian Constitution, spelling the fundamental rights of the people the Directive Principles of State Policy respectively. It was Nehru's hope and endeavour that the free Republic of India should shape according to them. During his stewardship of the Republic for 17 years he strove hard for it. He was eager to see that people in India should enjoy those great and basic rights and freedoms which alone make life worth living. He had faith in the democratic process and full trust in the people. He made the ballot box the sovereign in India. This faith was vindicated in 1977 when Indira Gandhi was unseated from power by the electorate. Nehru saw to it that elections were free and fair, judiciary was impartial and independent, the press was not gagged, and political parties including the Communists were under no restrictions or restraints. In this way Nehru firmly laid the foundations of the parliamentary system of government. He respected the opposition and their leaders, consulting them regularly on issues of public importance and accepted the electoral verdict, to the extent of allowing the communists to form the government

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in Kerala in 1957. However, the dimissal of this government in July 1959 under the subterfuge of the provisions of Art. 356 raised question of constitutional propriety then, and continues to be cited against his as an instance of abuse of constitutional power. It is not certain as to what drove Nehru to this act which was apparently a constitutional outrage but the dismissal of the government was fully justified by the subsequent electoral verdicts against the Communists.

Nehru fought relentlessly against the forces of communalism. Nothing caused him greater pain than the thought that Indian people should still shed blood in the name of religion. He firmly believed that the state should be neutral in regard to the religion of its people who should enjoy full freedom of conscience and liberty to practice, profess and propagate any religion. While the neighbouring countries of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Ceylon have adopted the religion of the majority community as the state religion, India prides in her secularism. This is in no small measure due to Nehru's broad vision and catholicity. He regarded it as somewhat medieval that the state should identify itself with any particular religion.

Above all, Nehru realised that people in this country would little value freedom unless it brought them economic emancipation. He had a profound historical perspective. He was clear in his mind that economic power and wealth should not concentrate in a few hands or houses. He was an advocate of social control over the means of production, exchange and distribution. He saw the need of land reforms and of abolition of Zamindari. He had no doubt that in independent India the institution of private property should be strictly limited and controlled. Since his return from the Soviet Union in 1927 he had been the exponent of socialism in the Congress Party. He had been much impressed by the changes in the Soviet Union following the October Revolution of 1917. He felt convinced that there was no alternative to socialist path for the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These ideas found expression in the resolution adopted by the AICC at Karachi in 1931 in the form of an Economic Programme, which advocated, among other things, a fair deal to workers and peasants and nationalisation of key industries. However, when the time came for cashing these promises on the eve of constitution making of free India, Nehru found himself handicapped and helpless. The majority opinion in the Congress party was opposed to his socialist beliefs. The socialists had decided to boycott the Constituent Assembly. Nehru found himself the lone supporter of the socialist cause. Even so, he took in his own hands the task of formulating the draft provisions of the constitution dealing with

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the right to property. The draft which he made did not satisfy his conscience but he had to make compromise with the right reactionary elements within the Congress and the Constitution actually ended with giving the right to property a double baralled protection in the provisions of Art. 31 and Art. 19(1) (f). But Nehru was not disheartened. He bade his time and waited for the right moment to strike. Though constitutional amendments of Art. 31, beginning from 1951, Nehru sought to push through the land legislation abolition of Zamindari, ceiling on land holdings, consolidation thereof etc. He even gave constitutional protection to measures of nationalisation without giving compensation at the market rate by pushing forth the Fourth Amendment. In this way Nehru sought to make the constitution a fitting instrument for bringing in socialism by peaceful, constitutional and lawful means, without the necessity of a bloody revolution.

It was Nehru's firm belief that the answer to India's social and economic ills lay in socialism. He was profoundly influenced by the Soviet experiment though he abhorred its violence and regimentation. At heart he was a democrat. He sought to combine democracy and socialism in a single system and called it democratic socialism. He believed that democratic socialism should combine the best of both socialism and democracy. In practice, however, socialism gave way to democracy and democracy overpowered by vested interests has failed to "prevent the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment", or to ensure that "the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good." The result is that Nehru's democratic socialism was in practice only a bourgeoisie democracy though a reforming and a liberal one. It must however be said to Nehru's credit that the states which have experimented with Marxian socialism, such as the USSR and China, have found it impossible to keep the democratic aspirations of the people in check for long. In the USSR the policies of *glassnost* and *perestroika* spearheaded by Mikhail Gorbachev are evidence of tampering socialism with bourgeoisie democratic values and norms. In China, currently (May-June 1989) there is almost a state of civil war in which hundreds of thousands of students, boys and girls, have taken to the streets to fight for restoration of democracy, even though in the years following the death of Mao there had been gradually introduced in China, under the leadership of Deng Xio-Ping, a policy of De-Maoisation which had the effect of slowly diluting socialism with market economy, profit motive, foreign capital and know how, in the desire for modernisation and growth.

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With all his admiration for the Russian Revolution and Marxian Socialism, Nehru was a liberal and an individualist in the western tradition. The individual was the centre and focus of his thought. He therefore, opted for Mixed Economy wherein private enterprise will co-exist with public sector, the latter being poised to acquire all strategic heights of the national economy. He also opted for planning in economy and the Planning Commission which was set up in 1950 under his chairmanship and the successive five year plans will ever remain a testimony of his economic farsightedness. The theory and practice of democratic planning has by now become the accepted technique in all free and developing nations and in no small measure the credit for it goes to Nehru. It is through planning in economy, a rising public sector, public control and regulation of industries, land reforms, abolition of Zamindari, land ceilings, consolidation of holdings, co-operative farming, community development and national extension services, and an extensive programme of social security and labour legislation that Nehru aimed to curb, cabin and confine the bourgeoisie, capitalist state so that it could be dovetailed into the goal, democratic socialism.

It speaks of Nehru's vision and foresight that he never thought of abandoning human values for the sake of socialism. He was above everything else a humanist and a democrat, believing whole heartedly in the dictum of T.H. Green that the basis of the state was "Will, not force". It is heartening to note that Nehru's ideas have been fully vindicated by the growth in Western Europe of the philosophical movement called Euro-Communism and rise of Existentialism sponsored by such thinkers as Sartre, Camus, Jaspers and Kierkgaard. It has further been re-inforced by the contemporary developments in the Soviet Union and in China, though, it may be said, the Deng reforms in China aiming at De-Maoisation were nothing else than slow injection of bourgeoisie liberal capitalist principles in Chinese economy, and the current student revolt (May-June 1989) in Beijing and other Chinese towns is really speaking a protest against the evils of corruption, inefficiency and nepotism that have already invaded the Chinese economy, society and politics during the brief period that China has toyed with Deng reforms, abandoning the Maoist orthodoxy.

Nehru was essentially a man of peace. He clearly saw that world peace was indispensable for India's progress and economic development. More than that, he regarded war as something wrong in itself. It was a crime against humanity. It was a sign of barbarism. It was a failure of civilization He found hard to preserve peace in the world. During the last days of his life the world came to look upon him as the

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messiah of peace. Nehru and peace almost became convertible words. He propounded five principles (Panchsheel) of international behaviour. He believed that nations should pledge themselves to disarmament, peaceful settlement of international disputes disbandment of all military blocs. He kept aloof from all military alignments and introduced in world politics the concept of Non-alignment. Thanks to Nehru Non-alignment is today the prevailing creed of a large majority of Afro-Asian states and has taken on the dimensions of a world wide movement, the Non-alignment Movement, or NAM.

Nehru's weakness was that he could not take firm action against wrong doers, delinquents, erratics, and misfits. That was partly due to weakness in his character, partly due to peculiarities of the democratic process. At critical moments Nehru was seen compromising with his adversaries. Perhaps he was too good himself to see vile or craft in others. This is why he hastened to appeal to the United Nations against the tribal invaders from Pakistan in Kashmir, believing in the mechanism of the United Nations to do justice and punish the aggressor. He agreed to cease fire in Kashmir even though half of that state was under Pakistani occupation, believing that the United Nations will see to it that the aggression was vacated. If he so wanted he could have exploited the difficulties in which King Tribhuwan of Nepal found himself in 1950. But that was not in his nature. Bargaining was for him out of question. This is why he did not link the question of Sino-Indian boundaries with that of Tibet. At home, he failed to put down the reactionaries within the party. This is why the apple cart of socialism which he drove did not seem to make much headway. He suffered colleagues in the cabinet whom he knew were corrupt, inefficient, and incompetent. He could not gear even his ambassadors abroad to his own line of thought. He came to believe indeed that corruption was inevitable in democracy.

The truth is that Nehru was always bubbling with high and brilliant ideas and had boundless passion for the welfare of the people. But he did not know how to realize them. His greatness lay in seizing upon the right end. His misfortune was that when the time came for translating them into action he could not withstand opposition. He could not push his ideas to their logical conclusion. He would very often yield to pressures and was prone to make compromises of convenience. He was essentially a philosopher and a thinker. He was not a man of action. The tragedy of Nehru was that with few exceptions his colleagues were not equal to him either in intellect or character, with the result that his plans and policies were carried out by those who did not really understand them, and what is worse, who did not believe in them. It is, therefore, hardly surprising

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that with the passing away of Nehru in 1964 his successors have slowly and steadily abandoned the principles of politics and economics with which the first Prime Minister of India identified himself. As President, Radhakrishnan said with the passing away of Nehru an era passed away.

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Nehru The Parliamentarian Sunlight & Shadow

P. Manikyamba

The legacy that Jawaharlal Nehru left to modern India has often been a topic for discussion among parliamentarians, intellectuals and academic circles. Much of the literature on Nehru legacy makes eloquent expressions about it. Natwar Singh, the Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, in his editorial note to "The Legacy of Nehru" says that Nehru will go down as one of history's most attractive and enduring figures.[1] Norman Cousins holds Nehru in high esteem when he said that "Nehru was not one man but a procession of men and in him we witnessed a national hero, statesman, philosopher, historian, author and educator".[2] Nehru legacy is that which is built up layer after layer absorbing new ideas without discarding old ones, according to S. Gopal, the definitive biographer of Nehru.[3]. In the words of VKRV Rao, a well known economist, Nehru legacy should not be viewed as an ordinary legacy, it is not merely to be enjoyed or expanded and it is necessary that it should be activised and used to complete the work that Nehru began.[4] Earl Atlee, who had studied Nehru in retrospect says that there are few parallels in history to the magnitude of Nehru's achievement and that India will be grateful to a man who piloted the ship of state on her maiden voyage with few errors of navigation.[5]

While the above are some of the glorifying statements about Nehru's legacy, some observers have also pointed out the shadow part of it. Michael Brecher at one point, considers Nehru as an inept administrator who concentrated decisions in his hands and says that the habit of dependence on Nehru stiffled the growth of self-reliance amongst those that will have to carry the burden of decisions.[6] Walter Crocker finds in Nehru a man of dominating character and says that in this domination, there have been so many elements of dictatorship and that Nehru did have a strong strain of authoritarianism in him.[7] Ranbir Singh feels that Nehru's conception of socialism is vague and ill-defined, and Nehru failed to establish and give to the Indians the requisite administrative apparatus to implement his socialism.[8]

With this in the background, an attempt is made in this paper to make a fresh look at Nehru legacy to assess what he had done and what remains to be done by the vast majority of the Indians and their leaders.

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As pointed out by an eminent writer, the role and the legacy of Nehru could be understood only if they are viewed in their proper perspective.[9] The focus of the paper would be on the legacy of Nehru, the parliamentarian.

The Components of Nehru's Legacy

An understanding of the components of Nehru's legacy would be useful for a detailed study and an objective assessment of it. Its main components include modernisation and induction into it of scientific climate and temper, economic planning, creation of a socialist society, enhancing the status of women and above all the setting up of parliamentary institutions and providing the right atmosphere for such institutions to flourish. Once, when Nehru was asked to say what his legacy to India would be, his reply was "hopefully it is four hundred million people capable of governing themselves".[10]

Faith in the common man and Parliamentary Institutions: Nehru's faith in the ability of the common man and his views on parliamentary institutions provide a valuable base for a study of the role of Nehru as a parliamentarian. Nehru, the farseeing and long term optimist' always said that basic vitality existes in all sections of people and that every man is good enough in the governance of his brothermen. It is the fund of commonsense that is the sufficient equipment for him to take charge of the ship of state.[11] Nehru's optimism is clear in his own words when he said "I do not despair. Although sometimes, I feel little angry at our own failings and weaknesses, I have faith in our people and in the future of India; also in a better ordered world. It is because of this faith that I carry on as, I presume, most of us carry on. Life would be hollow emptiness without that faith in the future and faith in ourselves to face that future"[12] Nehru's optimism is also clear when he said that "morrow is slightly more important to me than today".[13]

It is this great faith that led to the development of a very broad vision of India by Nehru. He strongly wished a very bright future to India, viewed India from a global perspective and believed that India should both be a benefactor to and beneficiary from the world. This is clear from a highly emotional speech that he gave at the end of a long-debated no-confidence motion against his Ministry. He said "A country, which has a wrong vision inevitably goes down, but a country which has no vision gradually loses its vital energy and perishes ultimately." He further said "I think, India is not going to perish, it has not perished for 500 years or

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more. It is not going to perish, but there is something in between that is existing. I do not want India to merely exist, I want it to live a full life. It had much to learn from the world and also to give something to the world because I have been convinced, I am convinced that India does possess something that it can give to the rest of the world, although it has to learn much from the rest of the world."[14]

The strong faith in the ability of common man led to Nehru's conviction that the Indian thinking and aims are in accordance with the purposeful functioning of parliamentary democracy and given the opportunity, Indians will definitely make good of the institutions and situations. It should be pointed out here that Nehru's conceptualisation of parliamentary democracy had varied at different stages of his life. In his early years, it was closely related to the goal of independence and in the later years its scope got widened which included individual freedom, representative government, economic and social equality and self reliance. It is the view of later years that is relevant in this paper. To Nehru, the system of government we establish should fit in with the temper of our people and be acceptable to them.[15] He thought that it is through parliamentary democracy alone that the objectives enshrined in the constitution could be best realised. As expressed in his characteristic style "in the final analysis, the democratic process promotes the growth of human being and of society, because we attach great value to individual freedom and because we want the creative and adventurous spirit of man to grow".[16]

To Nehru parliamentary democracy is the best and most dynamic, ensures continuity and change, imposes self discipline instead of imposed discipline and is the right means to achieve ends in a peaceful manner. Nehru was very much aware that parliamentary democracy demands many virtues like ability, devotion, a large measure of cooperation, self-discipline and restraint in individuals and groups. He said that parliamentary democracy is not something that can be created in a country by some magic wand.[17] He was not also unmindful of the problems that might arise in the working of this system. To him, problems are the sign of growth because it is only the living and not the dead that get and solve problems. In his view, closely linked with the concept of parliamentary democracy is the concept of economic democracy which means working for a certain measure of well being for all and working for a certain measure of equality of opportunity in the economic sphere. Also closely linked with parliamentary democracy is the need for mass education. Dedication, devotion and commitment would definitely bridge the gap between desire and fulfilment, according

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to Nehru.

Nehru: The parliamentarian: The status of parliamentarians' is associated with honour and prestige and their elected position gives to them a place of dignity in society. A parliamentarian can and should serve as a bridge and a channel of communication between the people and the representative chambers. A parliamentarian is expected to represent the needs of the public in general and his constituents in particular in the structures he/she serves, especially the representative houses. For this he/she would be required to be present in the Houses and participate in discussions. It is also important that a parliamentarian should help for the maintenance of decorum and dignity of the House, make the most purposeful use of the proceedings, encourage discussion and help to arrive at a consensus. A parliamentarian should also be cautious that all shades of opinion are reflected in the House.

They have a special role to play in reducing tensions and in promoting peace and understanding. Establishment of good constituency linkages, moulding public opinion, respect for colleagues, respect for traditions and knowledge of the rules, practices and procedure are among other responsibilities of parliamentarians. They become path-setters for future leadership and representatives. A parliamentarian, who should lead a group or a party or the House as a whole, will have to take additional responsibility in role performance. In fact the leader would become the model.

With the above theoretical base about the role of parliamentarians in democratic processes, Nehru's style and role as a parliamentarian would be discussed hereunder.

Nehru's role as a parliamentarian has very often been considered excellent. In the words of Bal Ram Jakhar, the speaker of Lok Sabha, Jawaharlal Nehru belongs to a rare brand of eminent parliamentarians and he was the epitome and the personification of a parliamentarian.[18] Joachim Alva, a former member of parliament praises him as the Idol of Indian parliament and feels that there are a few indeed of his calibre in the galaxy of the parliaments of the world today.[19] Shriyans Prasad Jain, a former member of Rajya Sabha describes Nehru as a model parliamentarian[20] and N.S. Ranga, the Deputy Leader of Congress (I) in Lok Sabha emphatically said that Nehru was a democratic thinker and a charming parliamentarian.[21]

Nehru's vision of parliament: Nehru wanted parliament to function as a symbol of continuity and change, and as a comrade and a necessary aid to Ministers. He also felt that parliament should be a vibral embodiment of the great experiment in popular democracy. He wanted

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that parliament should function as the coping stone of the magnificient structure of democratic institutions enshrined in our constitution. For him, parliament was a form to conduct an open dialogue with the chosen representatives of the people.[22]

Nehru Inside Parliament

Style: The style of a parliamentarian, and more importantly that of a leader of the House would have definite impact in matters of commanding influence and respect, mobilising members' support and outputs. Nehru stood in parliament both as a very fascinating figure and a depressed leader. His behaviour in the House was one of mixed traits. Sometimes he projected his 'child-like' simplicity and many times his magnetic personality.

He was sweet like a 'shy-maiden when he was anxious that the House should accept his proposal and could roar like a lion all of a sudden especially when he heard strong opposition to his view point. He was not an orator, but could be argumentative conciliatary and critical. His arguments with eminent parliamentarians like Lohia and Kamath in the House bear sound proof of his argumentative abilities. He was conciliatory and critical towards some members like Kripalani and Ranga.

There were many occassions when the House responded to his mood and he to that of the House. In dealing with members he could be quite hard-hitting. He was especially very good at repartee. For instance, in the course of a debate Nehru said "India is predominantly an agricultural country but, it failed to grow enough food to feed people".[23]

One significant characteristic of Nehru's style is that, in general, he did not hesitate to admit irresponsibility on the part of government. For instance, during his statement to a call Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance relating to the reported killing of army men and injuries to several others by some Nagas, he said with all humbleness "I must confess that the result of the inquiring was that certain lack of coordination and that information was not given to the proper questions with the result those managed to escape".[24] He further accepted that there was direliction of duty and lapse in communication.

There have been instances when Nehru burst out in a high degree of anger. For instance, in an important discussion in parliament in May 1952, on President's address, A.K. Gopalan, the leader of Communist party described the address as a declaration of war on the Indian people. Nehru gave an angry reply to this comment saying that if such was the

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feeling of the communist party leader, there was war between the communists and the congress.[25] Another instance is, on the 10th of August, 1956, Nehru got irritated by an allegation in Lok Sabha that the police had been responsible for troubles in Ahmedabad. Nehru stood up in anger and refuted the allegation saying that the allegation should only be regarded as a fantastic nonsense. H.V. Kamath, another important parliamentarian in opposition squarely accused Nehru of being intemperate. In fact, the Speaker had to intervene and ask Nehru to resume his seat. But later Nehru did not hesitate to apologise for using unparliamentary expression.[25] Yet another instance of the angry retort of Nehru was in connection with charging the opposition with irresponsibility and incapacity when once the opposition made some remarks against the Speaker. Nehru angrily said that to attack the Speaker is like breaking or damaging a vase which could never be repaired.[27]

Inspite of great effort to control emotions, during his speech after the discussion of a no-confidence motion against him and his colleagues, referring to a speech given by Lohia, Nehru said that it did bring the debate down to a singularly low level of market place.[28] It is very clear that Nehru was intolerant of criticism and obstruction.

Attendance in Parliament: Attendance in the House is the foundation of a good parliamentarian. Impressed by Nehru's presence in the House, Shriyans Prasad Jain said" I always find Nehru extraordinarily particular about his attendance in both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha".[29] Nehru managed to be present even when the House was engaged in routine business. Appreciating Nehru's interest in attending the parliament, Bal Ram Jakhar said "I find hardly any Prime Minister in the world who might have spent more time on the benches of parliament than Nehru[30]"

Nehru was also keen on maintainig punctuality. The Houses were generally full when he spoke. The public gallaries were seen packed to their capacity when he spoke on foreign affairs and the foreign diplomats vied one another in listening to the Prime Minister.

As a Speaker: The manner, the content and the duration of speeches by members in representative chambers will have great bearing on the proceedings of the House. In giving speeches, an ideal parliamentarian should be precise but clear, make an economic use of the precious time of the House and should be able to deliver impressionistic and convincing speeches thereby briging members to his point of view. The leaders should not only try to sustain the existing support but also to mobilise increased support.

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Nehru, in principle was against long speeches. For instance when Hem Baru was speaking on a Call Attention Motion regarding the whereabouts and the reported movements to Pakistan of groups hostile to Nagas, Nehru said "If the honourable member could concisely put his question and not to go into long preambles which confuse, it would be better".[31] But Nehru himself could not resist from giving long speeches. Sometimes his lengthy speeches, in his attempt for clarity were found boring to members. As a Speeker, he was less effective than parliamentarians like Bhulabhai or Satyamurty, his contemporaries.

Nehru rarely spoke with the help of a prepared text. His expertise was found in his speeches connected with defence and foreign affairs. When he spoke on these areas, there was a touch of mistoricel perspective. On foreign affairs, he spoke with considerable faith and confidence.

Question Hour: Question Hour occupies the most important and interesting part of parliamentary proceedings. It is at this stage that the government will be subjected to very severe scrutiny. Nehru sat almost regularly through the Question Hour and made it a point to answer by himself questions relating to his departments. There were of course occasional departures from this practice. One such departure was on the 18th of August, 1962. A Starred Question addressed to the Prime Minister by S.M. Banerjee and Prakash Vir Shastri on the situation of Nagaland was answered by S.C. Jamir, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for External Affairs.[32]

Respect for the Presiding Officers: Nehru had great respect for presiding officers. This can be illustrated. Once Speaker Mavalankar wanted to see Nehru in the office of the Prime Minister. But Nehru pointed out that he himself would go to the speaker. He held that the position of the speaker is not an individual position, the Speaker represents the dignity of the House and the freedom of the House and hence the Speaker's position should be respected by all.[33]

Belief in Equal Partnership of the Two Houses of Parliament: Nehru believed firmly that the parliamentary system in India could operate effectively only on equal partnership of the two Houses and that each House has full authority to regulate its own procedure within the limits of the constitution. To call either House of parliament as an Upper House or Lower House is not correct, according to him.[34]

Conventions: It was during the Prime Ministership of Nehru that some conventions of lasting value had been laid down. Some examples would make this clear. The authority of the Speaker to administer the Secretariat of Lok Sabha was recognised in the time of Prime Minister

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Nehru. The appointment of the leader of opposition as the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee began in his time.

To facilitate the effective functioning of parliamentary committees on non-partisan basis as far as possible, some important conventions have been laid down. For example, the members of the Public Accounts Committee, Estimates Committee and the Public Undertakings Committee do not raise matters in the House in respect of subjects which are under examination by these committees. Members of these committees will not either formally or informally appear as witnesses before committees other than these committees with regard to matters under the examination of these committees. Reports of these committees are not generally discussed in the House.

Parliamentary Committees: The committee system of the Indian Parliament began flowering during the early years of Prime Ministership of Nehru. The initial years of Nehru's Prime Ministership could be regarded as the years of reform and innovation in the direction of the committee system. The Public Accounts committee began to assume a place of importance since 1950 because of the reforms which included discontinuation of the process of nomination, appointment of the leader of opposition as its Chairman, elimination of ministerial element and the introduction of study tours and spot visits. The Government Assurances Committee, which scrutinises the assurances given by Ministers on the floor of the House and reports back to the House, that was constituted for the first time on the 1st December, 1953 is an Indian innovation. It goes to the credit of Nehru in encouraging the Ministers to think about referring bills to Select or Joint Select Committees. But this practice is not given importance in the year after Nehru. The number of bills referred to Select or Joint Select Committees has declined for 46 during the first Lok Sabha to 5 during the 7th Lok Sabha,[35] which trend should definitely be considered as devastating. The Committe on Subordinate Legislation came into existence in 1953. The Public Undertakings Committee of the Indian Parliament was introduced on 1.5.1964. The emergence of new committees and the strengthening of the already existing committees led to achieving a certain degree of speeding up of legislative business.

Respect for Parliament: As pointed out earlier, Nehru had great respect for parliamentary institution. His respect for parliament could be very well illustrated by his attitude in the Mundra case. The position Nehru found himself was peculiarly complex and embarrasing and the was that in which 'the son-in-law factor', 'friend factor', personal prestige and above all the supremacy of parliament were involved. Very

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briefly in this case, it was Nehru's son-in-law, Mr Feroz Gandhi that raised allegations, in 1958, of corruption against T.T. Krishnamachari, a senior cabinet colleague and a close confidant of the Prime Minister. The government agreed to a public enquiry by a Judge whose report went against the minister and finally led to Krishnamachari's resignation. Though Nehru was convinced that there might have been carelessness but not malafides, he bowed himself to the supremacy of Parliament. One important point to be mentioned here is that Nehru was absent on the day parliament decided to constitute the inquiry commission and he even said that had he been present in parliament on the day when it resolved he might not have consented to it. Nehru's absence could be interpreted as an attempt to avoid an embarrasing situation for himself inside the House.

Domination in Parliament's Proceedings: In the proceedings of parliament, in general, Nehru encouraged discussion but dominated the proceedings. His sway in parliament is indisputed and unchallenged. According to Michael Brecher, a biographer of Nehru, Nehru's preeminence can only be compared with that of Churchill of Westminister during the II world war.[36]

Towards the Opposition: It is important that a model parliamentarian should respect his/her colleagues of all parties and groups. Nehru felt that effective opposition in the House would facilitate the right working of the system of parliamentary government. Such an opposition would point out the failures of the government and be able to put forward constructive proposals.[37] The relationship between Nehru of the opposition should be viewed in the context of a numerically small and fragmented, but keen, able and vociferous opposition.

Nehru was tolerant and was usually curteous to the opposition. He made efforts to try for and to reach as broad a consensus as possible on various issues of public importance. He used to hold frequent discussions with the opposition members. This practice though followed now is not as frequent as it was. Nehru listened to opposition's view with great interest and appreciated informal criticism. There were several instances of the government positively responding to the Opposition's demands. For instance on 23.8.1954 Nehru accepted the Oppositions stand for a discussion on events in foreign countries and some domestic calamities. In 1956, he agreed to amend the States Reorganisation Bill to constitute Bombay into a bilingual state on the overwhelming wishes of the opposition parties' members. The pressure of the Opposition had also resulted in the issue of the first white paper on China in 1960.

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Nehru and the Cabinet Government: The relationship between the Prime Minister and his cabinet colleagues is crucial in the working of a parliamentary executive. As the primus-inter-pares, it is the Prime Minister that is expected to choose his colleagues, distribute portfolios, reshuffle them if found necessary, relieve Ministers of their responsibilities if found essential, keep responsibility of the cabinet to parliament, extend support to colleagues to ensure joint responsibility, encourage the functioning of the cabinet as a team and advice, guide and coordinate different ministries.

The cabinet system originated in India under the leadership of Nehru. His faith in the cabinet system could be attested by several of his speeches. The best instance of this was his categorical rejection of a non-parliamentary executive proposed by Karimuddin a member of the Constituent Assembly. The reason given by Nehru in this context is noteworthy. He said "so far we have been proceeding with the building up of the constitution in the ministerial sense and I do submit that we cannot go back upon it".[38]

Nehru expressed his belief in team work. In his letter of 15.8.1956 to Bakshi Gulam Mohammed, Chief Minister of Kashmir, Nehru pointed out that "the main thing is team work of those in the government and the organisation, secondly division of responsibility and at the same time close coordination of all activities, thirdly the building up of cadres of workers with responsibility, fourthly creating good reactions in the public about the work of the government and the organisation", Nehru also suggested to Chief Ministers to strengthen their own position as undisputed heads of responsible colleagues.

There were five cabinets under Nehru's leadership formed in 1947, 1950, 1952, 1957 and in 1962. During the total period of 17 years of Nehru's Prime Ministership, many ministerial resignations and reshuffling of portfolios took place. One important point deserving mention here is that his first cabinet consisted of members belonging to different parties and independents also despite the large Congress majority in parliament. Nehru included leaders like Shyama Prasad Mukherji of Hindu Maha Sabha and Shanmukham Chetty of Justice party because of the understandable anxiety to make it as broad based as possible. He was also anxious to create an impression among the masses that though the Congress party had a huge majority in parliament, the party was eager to share power with other parties.

In the functional aspect of the cabinet, Nehru followed several parliamentary practices. For instance the practice of constituting cabinet sub-committees was given importance by him. It should be pointed out

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here that the constitution of cabinet sub-committees while relieving the Prime Minister of heavy work facilitates a greater sense of belonging and responsibility to members concerned and enables them to contribute their talents in a more useful manner. It also develops expertise and reasonable degree of flexibility. Morris Jones in his study of the Indian Parliamentary system pointed out that the degree of flexibility is illustrated by the domination exercised for a considerable period by the Emergency Committee of 6 set up in 1962.[39] There have been instances when Nehru, inspite of his disagreement, respected the cabinet sub-committee decisions. For example, in an issue relating to Kashmir in 1957 Nehru and Krishna Menon were convinced that India should retort the aggression of Pakistan by demanding in the Security Council that Pakistan,s aggression in Kashmir be ended. But a majority of the members of the External Affairs Committee of the cabinet consisting of Nehru, Pant, Azad, Katzu and T.T. Krishnamachari felt that the proposal is 'undignified and petty'. Nehru and Krishnamachari on whom Nehru generally heavily relied gave way to their colleagues in the cabinet sub-committee.

The inner Cabinet: Traces of the existence of the inner cabinet or Kitchen Cabinet are evident in the functioning of the cabinet under Nehru. Until 1950 Nehru and Patel made all decisions of substance. The only other cabinet member whose counsel was regularly sought was Maulana Azad. During the years following 1950 to 1956, Nehru relied very much on Azad, Ayyangar and Kidwai. By 1956 the inner cabinet circle composed of Pant, Desai and Azad in domestic affairs and Krishna Menon in foreign policy. Since 1957, there appears to be an informal understanding among the big three Nehru, Pant and Desai as to the permissible limits of disagreement. By and large, an atmosphere of accommodation and was visible with Nehru's preeminence of course in the final analysis. This is not to say that it is only Nehru's view that mattered. This is only to point out that Nehru used to make concessions when the two other presented their case forcefully and on the other occassions all major cabinet discussions required Nehru's approval or acquiescence.[40]

Nehru's critics had made several allegations on the style of cabinet functioning. It is true that Nehru did not give reasonable opportunity to understudy him and kept every possible successor or rival at some length. There had been occasions when individual members of the cabinet had not been consulted which fact was made clear by Deshmukh in a momentous speech in parliament. Speaking on the reorganisation of states in India, Deshmukh pointed out that proposals for the creation of new states

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were decided upon by the Prime Minister himself without consulting individual members of the cabinet and that not even a record of a meeting of a cabinet committee which might have considered such matters was available. Deshmukh charged Nehru of his cavalier and unconstitutional manner in which decisions had been taken and announced on behalf of the cabinet.[41] It is a fact that Nehru tried to take a decisive role in the cabinet. But the decisions were not that of a single man always. In the initial years of his Prime Ministership, there were veteran leaders who did not see eye to eye with him on major problems. In the formation of cabinet itself, Nehru did not find good amount of freedom. The inclusion of Patel and Azad was beyond question. It was Patel who gave to himself the Deputy Prime Ministership and decided the portfolios that he should be in charge of Patel took a major role in the inclusion of Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, B.R. Ambedkar and Shanmukham Chetti and in the exclusion of T.T. Krishnamachari and Vijayalakshmi Pandit. The only instance of appointment contrary to the wishes of patel was Kidwai. Another important fact was that Nehru was surrounded by persons who did not share his ideology. Nehru and Patel, the tallest of the tall leaders had severe ideological differences. For instance, both differed seriously on the question of the authority of the Prime Minister. To Nehru, the Prime Minister should have greater initiative and responsibility. Patel had quite a different view and held that the Prime Minister should only be a conflict resolving agent. Both Patel and Nehru differed on the question of privy purses and the status of the right to property as a fundamental right. In the final analysis it can safely be concluded that in the initial years, some members including Nehru were more equal than others and after 1952 some excluding Nehru were more equal than others.

In the role of the Prime Minister: The success of the Prime Minister depends on several factors which include ability to lead the group for which he/she is the head, mental and physical fibre, decision making power and commanding the confidence of the House. Nehru was an eloquent exponent of his policies. He was against piling up of files and hewas the hardest worked of all. Hiren Mukerjee, who considered Nehru as a towering representative of the Gandhi era, in a very admiring tone, said that Nehru's hurried movement from one House to the other in his anxiety to attend to work was a near miracle.[42]

In the initial years of his Prime Ministership, Nehru had limited authority as his cabinet consisted of very powerful colleagues like Patel, Ambedkar and Shanmukham Chetty. In the later years his time and energy were taken up more with the running of the apparatus of government. He had to get over from one crisis to another and had little

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opportunity in initiating policies and testing or developing those already adopted. In the last five or six years of his Prime Ministership, his policies had been very much opposed by eminent leaders like Rajagopalachari, President Rajendra Prasad and Kriplani. The press which was docile initially became a very vehement critic of Nehru s policies. His government came to be criticised as NIL government implying ineffective as well as Nehru, Indira and Lal Bahadur Shastri dominated government. One important mistake of Nehru was that he did not delegate his work and responsibility to anybody even when he was away from India. When he was asked on 22.4.64 by Nath Pai a Member of Lok Sabha, about who would be looking after the important matters of the state in the absence of the Prime Minister, Nehru's reply was "I donot remember of any previous occassion when any special arrangements had to be made or were made".[43]

Nehru did not always find himself comfortable in the role of Prime Minister. This is clear from the expression of his desire to leave office in 1954. Also, on two other occassions, one in the midst of the struggle for control of party in 1951 and the other in 1957 after the general elections—Nehru held the idea of resigning his office.

The Test for Confidence: One of the most important image testing events in the career of Prime Minister Nehru came in 1963 when a motion of no-confidence in his Ministry was introduced in Lok Sabha on the 19th of August by J.B. Kriplani. The situation was very embrassing but not one of despair. It was embrassing because the opposition did make many allegations against Nehru and his government and tried to prove them. It was not despairing as Nehru knew that the no-confidence motion would be voted down and the Noes will have the final say. Some details of the debate which took place for four full days deserve to be considered. Nehru government was charged of nepotisim, unpopularity and defective administration. The essence of the opposition's stand was that the government failed both in the domestic and foreign fronts. Replying to the debate, Nehru said that there should definitely be periodical examinations of government's performance but the debate should not proceed on personal grounds, likes and dislikes and criticisms. He turned out highly philosophical and described his vision of India mention of which was made earlier. As expected, the no confidence motion was voted down with 61 Ayes and 346 Noes at 18.5 hours on 22.8.1963. The opposition of course did succeed in using parliament as a forum for debate and highlighting administrative lapses.[44]

Outside Parliament: Nehru did have great national image. This is

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mainly due to the sacrifices he made in the freedom struggle, his charming personality and commitment. He attracted huge crowds in his public speeches with his dominating father's as well as benign uncle's image. For him the entire country was his constituency. He did considerable service in bringing about inter-parliamentary cooperation.

Towards Women: Nehru was convinced in principle that women should be given their due by the society, their enhanced status would facilitate social transformation and progress and that they should be liberated from the tyranny of man-made customs and law. He was against keeping half of the country's population in a kind of prison. He made use of parliament and other forums to impress upon the need for the progress of women. As for himself, he chose some women to represent India in international conferences and delegations and 'consciously' chose women as legislators. He was insisting on the inclusion of women in the state cabinets as well as state legislatures.[44] Nehru's realisation of the need for women's participation in the democratic process is clear from a speech that he gave in Lok Sabha. He said "You cannot have a democracy if you cut off a large chunk of humanity, fifty per cent of the people and put them in a class apart in regard to social privileges and the like. They are bound to rebel and rightly".[45] On another occasion he said that social life remains more or less static if the schemes meant for social reconstruction do not pay attention to give opportunities for women to progress.

Nehru was extremely curteous to women members of parliament. Mrs Renuka Ray, a member of Constituent Assembly and former member of Lok Sabha says that Nehru always gave women their due and wanted them to participate in every sphere of life.[46] In the words of President R. Venkataraman, the Nehru era saw many women blossom into stalwarts and his role in the matter of women's rights can only be called pioneering.[47]

Nehru was convinced of the functional ability of the women he chose to international delegations. What he said in this context is a credit to Indian womenhood itself. He made clear that he could not think of a single instance where the appointment of women has not been justified and in fact those women who represented India in the international delegations and conferences raised India's credit leaving a good deal of impression wherever they had gone.[48]

Nehru attempted in removing the legal disabilities of women. One of the chief points in his first election manifesto was equal rights for women. He emphasised on a social revolution, a revolution which included every one, especially women. He was extremely happy for what he had been

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able to do to Indian women. He said "the Hindu Reforms Code, the insistence on monogamy, the right to property inheritance are, I think, my greatest achievements".[49]

The above discussion would indicate that as a parliamentarian, Nehru deserves to be ranked high, but could not be regarded as a model parliamentarian or an ideal parliamentarian in all respects. There existed in Nehru considerable gap between principles and practices, words and deeds and philosophy and action. It is this particular characteristic of Nehru that led to critics commenting that the autocrat is very near the democrat, in him[50] and that Nehru the statesman differs from Nehru the politician.

Nehru believed in decentralisation and felt that it is the foundation of parliamentary democracy. But he had shown little inclination to delegate authority. Some critics of Nehru went to the extent of saying that decisions are concentrated in his hands to an 'incredible degree'. The result was, in the absence of Nehru, decision making almost came to a halt. A culture encouraging or showing a positive inclination towards decentralisation and devolution of power has not developed in the country. Another defect in the personality of Nehru is his interventionist role in the proceedings of parliament. This attitude could be defended on the ground that Nehru was anxious to protect his colleagues and that his interests were of a varied nature. But this trend definitely had its negative impact in the matter of nurturing able leadership capable of working the parliamentary apparatus.

Nehru could not be regarded as a model, either to his colleagues or successors, for making the most economic use of the time available to parliamentarians inside the House. He could not resist himself, as pointed out already, from making many lengthy speeches which practice has not discontinued even today. Nehru's sudden outbursts and angry retorts in parliament could nor be considered as the traits that model parliamentarians should possess. Nehru's frequent resort to Congress parliamentary majority to amend the constitution when faced with inconvenient Judicial decisions is an action somewhat distant from an ideal parliamentarian. However, Nehru's achievements outshined the failures.

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Jawaharlal Nehru And Parliamentary Opposition

S. Saraswathi

In the days of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the obsession with the opposition' among the ruling party at the Centre was much less than it is today. This is not so much linked to numerical strength of the ruling party in the parliament as to the quality of the political parties and qualitative decline in the working of political systems and institutions. several, political developments have taken place since the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru which have substantially altered the ruler-opposition relationship in the parliament. Even a brief review of Nehru's attitude towards parliamentary opposition would suffice to remind us of the democratic values and standards cherished and carefully built in the first two decades after Independence.

Jawaharlal Nehru had not much parliamentary experience when he became the Prime Minister. The nation had just then attained freedom from colonial rule and the first General Elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage was held in 1952. The parliamentarians of 1950s-many of whom were participants in the Freedom Movement-had a certain ideal of nation-building. Politics, p'rticularly electoral and parliamentary politics, had not yet established itself as a lucrative career in parliamentary life. All these factors contributed to a certain decorum to parliamentary debates.

During Jawaharlal Nehru's Prime Ministership, parliamentary opposition was not strong but consisted of various elements. It was from the 'left' in the beginning and later developed a strong 'right' lobby. As at the time of General Elections the strength of opposition to the ruling party in the Lok Sabha was as follows:

YEAR	RULING (CONGRESS)	OPPOSITION	
1952	364	125	CPI–16 SOC–12 KMPP–9 BJS–3 Others–47 Ind.–38

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1957	371	123	CPI–27 KMPP–19 BJS–4 Others–3 Ind.–42
1962	361	133	CPI–29 SOC–6 KMPP–12 SWA–18 Others–34 Ind.–20

Despite the comfortable majority he enjoyed, Nehru took the parliamentary work seriously, both in relation to his party members as well as to the opposition. The notion of parliamentary or political party opposition as 'anti-national' was unknown to Nehru. Parliament consisted of members of the 'ruling' and the 'opposition' parties. Both Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha had their respective roles derived from the Constitution. Nehru resented to the usage of the terms 'upper house' and 'lower house as the two houses did not signify different levels of authority.

To Jawaharlal Nehru, political parties had a very important role in democracies to educate, and represent the people. "Individuals, however able, do not represent or are not in touch with the people, while an organized party by the mere fact of its functioning as a party, is in contact with large masses of people whom it guides, whose thinking it influences, and which in turn is affected by the people's wishes",[1] Nehru stated. Nehru believed that there can be a variety of views on any question and did not want to stiple free development of ideas and their expression through various parties. He had not faith in partyless democracy either.

Nehru, had indeed in the early 1950s,expressed a certain concern over absence of strong parliamentary opposition. He thought that monopoly of power by any single political party would be injurious and that a strong and vigilant opposition was required to keep government on the right track. It is even said that Jayaprakash Narayan once suggested to him to build 'opposition'. So strong was Nehru's faith in the British parliamentary system implanted in India. To him, criticism was a sign of healthy democracy, and the existence of critics a mark of vigilance. He said:

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> **I believe completely in any government, whatever it might be, having stout critics, having an opposition to face. Without criticism people and governments become complacent. The whole parliamentary system of government is based on such criticism. The free press is also based on criticism. It would be a bad thing for us if the press was not free to criticise, if people were not allowed to speak and criticise government fully and in the open. It would not be parliamentary government. It would not be proper democracy. I welcome criticism in parliament. In fact, we welcome criticism from our own party members. The amount of room we have in our own party for criticism of government's policy is great.[2]**

Politics was not totally party politics at the time of Independence, In the first Council of Ministers, there were five non-Congressmen including John Mathai, R.K. Shanmugam Chetty, C.H. Bhabha, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and B.R. Ambedkar. It is said that Nehru offered seats in the Cabinet toJayaprakash Narayan and his party put the latter declined.[3] The number of non-Congress ministers gradually declined and by 1958, The Council of Ministers became exclusively of the Congress.

Jawaharlal Nehru had his own vision about the future of India and his own ambitions for building a new India. His object was not just to remain in power and consolidate his position. He had many opponents who individually and as representatives of political parties disagreed with him even totally and fundamentally. In spite of majority support in parliament, he did listen to the views of the opposition. "I am not prepared to accept the statement that the largest number of people are always right,"[4] he once said in the Parliament-a remark that can hardly be expected from a leader of a majority party.

Ability to listen to different views on a subject was Nehru's strength in the beginning if his ministerial career. In one of the early and a very controversial legislation which excited the parliament to a high degree on Preventive Detention he remarked, "If we find there is anything basically wrong with the Bill, let us scrap it by all means."[5] Jawaharlal Nehru was very particular about his attendance at the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha and was very active during question hour. He was responsive to suggestions from not only Congress members but from other parties. The oft quoted illustration to show his openness to different views even from his opponents is with regard to the

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amendment to the States Reorganization Bill to constitute Bombay into a large bi-lingual state in deference to the wishes of the members from different parties. He was invariably present in the House during all important debates. Despite the majority of the Congress, debates were often vigorous in those days when important legislations such as the Hindu Code Bill and if States Reorganization were discussed. The opposition, though small in size and ununited, was as keen as the ruling party and contributed good many ideas for enrichment of the socio-economic-political legislations. The Congress in parliament was certainly in a position to push any legislation and the Congress party under Nehru was indeed the Centre of decision-making but still Nehru did not ignore the Parliament or the views of the opposition members.

Criticism was accepted by Nehru as a necessary part of policy-making and legislation. He said, "I believe completely in any government having stout critics and having opposition to face, because without criticism people become complacent. The whole parliamentary system of government is based on this criticism"[6] Criticism to government policies widely varied arising both from leftists, rightists as well as from the middle. As he kept the important portfolios of foreign affairs and chairmanship of the Planning Commission, Nehru was himself the target of attacks from opposition members. His parliamentary speeches on governmental policies and responses to the criticisms raised in the Houses extensively explains the government's stand.

An outstanding instance of the alertness of the opposition parties in the parliament and the government's responsive attitude could be seen in the incident over Life Insurance Corporation's purchase from Haridas Mundra which led to the resignation of the Finance Minister. The opposition parties raised a great storm in the parliament forcing the government to order a judicial enquiry into the matter. The matter was serious but it established the importance of the responsibility of the 'opposition' and the Nehru government's recognition of the 'opposition'. Nehru said in the parliament, "whatever the penalties which we or others have paid or may suffer, this enquiry has demonstrated to India and to the world the democratic way in which we function. It has established the dignity and majesty of this parliament, and of the procedures we follow in maintaining high standards in public life and administration. That is a great gain."[7] Action was taken quickly in initiating enquiry in response to the very hostile atmosphere in the parliament and to the suspicion expressed by some members that the cabinet was delaying the inquiry. As regards the procedure, he said," It is

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for parliament to consider at a later stage and for the government to keep in mind as to what type of procedure we should follow.. I think as a rule public inquiry is better than a private inquiry."[8]

Another occasion that brought the entire opposition barring the communists together against the government was the slow and steady intrusion of China into the Indian territory. Pointed attacks were made on the government handling of the situation and of India's foreign policy. Nehru took great efforts to explain and defend India's foreign policy and defence power.

Nehru's attitude towards opposition parties shows a certain amount of change during his tenure of prime ministership. There was in the beginning some enthusiasm in inviting criticism and defending policies but the vigour of opposition and its sting naturally became something undesirable. Jawaharlal Nehru had at times apologised to the House for not being present at any part of the discussions but kept himself informed of the criticisms levelled by the opposition parties against policies and functioning of the government. He once said, "Hon. Members have every right to look at the present picture of the country critically. If there was an effective opposition in this House, undoubtedly it would be its right, indeed its function to point out the failings of the government and to put forward constructive proposals. Since there is no effective opposition, I, for my part, welcome the criticism of colleagues and Hon. Members; who in regard to policy are supposed to look more or less in the same direction as we do."[9]

In Nehru's view, opposition should also realize that the problems are difficult and intricate and that we could not find any easy or magical solution. He advised that the problems should be compared with those of other countries, "we have to look for the common factor and find out how far our problems are due to our own failings and how far to world conditions,"[10] he observed.

In course of time, more occasions arose to express some resentment to the growing criticism within the parliament. The tone of moral plane assumed by some members rather irritated him. Mixing up of moral and political plane while dealing with issues like growing corruption appeared to him inappropriate. "This conception that the government is there or the Members of government are there to be hit and sat upon without their replying appears to me to be a wrong conception," he once said replying to references imputing motives to government functioning.[11] He wanted to separate criticism of policies from personalities. he said, "It is the right not only of opposition but of

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anybody in the country and even the duty to criticise the government. I do not object to it at all. But sometimes the criticism seems to me to be not only wide of the mark but well, very much ill-advised and perhaps not quite decorous and sometime personal."[12]

The appearance of the swatantra Party on the electoral scene and its active participation in the parliamentary debates enhanced the significance of opposition. Nehru considered this party as an important political force. His electoral compaigns were particularly aimed against the Swatantra.

With the appearance of the Swatantra which contained a number of erstwhile Congressmen, a slight shift in Nehru's attitude towards the opposition became visible. The need for inviting criticism and wider participation vanished with the parliament becoming more active and lively than what even Nehru desired. Political differences gave rise to heated and vital policy differences came to the surface.

The coming together of opposition parties as "negative and not positive"-which in course of years has become a political slogan of the congress-was first expressed by Jawaharlal Nehru while replying to a 'noconfidence' motion in the Lok sabha in August 1963.[13] He defended the government and observed that the debate showed the "absence of a larger vision". Members exhibited much excitement during the debate. But Nehru observed, "It will be my endeavour to avoid saying anything which might have the result of exciting people. I have no desire to carry this debate to the end on a role of resentment and anger."[14]

Thus within a decade after independence, the opposition in parliament came to assume a significant place. The composition of the opposition was gradually changing. In early 1950, both ruling and opposition parties consisted of persons who had been together in the Freedom Movement—a factor which had its bearing on parliamentary relations. Jawaharlal Nehru started with a parliament in which his opponents were his friends and colleagues in the fight against the British. But the post-independence politics as years rolled tended to divided the erstwhile friends on ideological grounds. As a result Nehru had to contend with a variegated patterns of opposition ranging from believers in total free enterprise to convinced communists and had to meet the expectations of various shades of socialists and at the same time maintain the confidence of several interest groups. In this experience Jawaharlal Nehru who started his prime ministership with a discontent about the weakness of the opposition ended with a satisfaction of successfully contending against diverse types of opposition.

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Nehru And Law Courts

K.C. Joshi

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the important personalities of twentieth century. He was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. His education had been in an open society. His father, a leading lawyer and a towering personality of his days wanted him to be a lawyer, Nehru studied law and passed Bar-at law from London University. But Nehru was not born for practising law. He was influenced by the plight of down-trodden masses. Influence of Fabianism and later of Marxism made Nehru an arch enemy of imperialism, feudalism and capitalism. He played an important role in the independence struggle of our nation. But this concept of freedom was very wide. It did not mean mere change of rulers. Nehru was a 'humanist'. He thought primarily of human beings, their difficulties, worries and anxieties, above Parliament, administration and all the trappings of civilisation.[1]

The plight of vast humanity in India moved Nehru. He, therefore, wished social justice for the underfed and under-clothed. Every institution which came in the way of the human justice was disliked by him. His idea of justice was dynamic. Status-quo was anti-thesis of his creed."When *status-quo* itself is rank injustice, those who desire to maintain it must be considered as upholders of that injustice"[2].

The peasants and workers formed the majority of Indian population. Nehru inspired these masses to join the freedom struggle. Freedom of India signified to Nehru "not national freedom only but the relief of the millions of her men and women from suffering and exploitation"[3]. For this he invited the exploited peasantry and workers to join the struggle of independence. They were promised justice through new economic order to be ushered through socialism. In a letter of August 20th, 1931 Nehru confessed to William James Durant[4] that he was a socialist.[5] Socialism and democracy were inseparable to him. "Socialism is the inevitable outcome of democracy. Political democracy has no meaning if it does not embrace economic democracy. And economic democracy is nothing but socialism."[6] With this end in view the preamble of the Constitution of India was adopted. The Preamble envisages a democracy which will secure social economic and political justice to all the citizens

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of India. With this limitation, Nehru wanted an independent judiciary. "The courts can interfere", he asserts", only when there is gross abuse of law, where in fact there has been a fraud on the Constitution. Naturally the judiciary comes in to see if there has been a fraud on the Constitution or not".[7]

Socialism was a progressive thought of his day. Generally, the progressive thought is not accepted by old generation. Consequently, the old people prefer *status quo.* This is helpful to the privileged class for it helps them to retain their privileges. Judicial system of India is based on common law system of precedent. Thus, the judiciary per force follows the *status quo.* And here comes the conflict between Nehru's socialism and judicial conservatism. Nehru hates the conservatism which comes in the way of social justice. he was of the firm view that post should not come in the way of social justice. He deplores and deprecates the conservatism which shuns change. Writing in *The Hindu* in 1928 he says:

> **We are a conservative people, not over-fond of change, always trying to forget our present misery and degradation in vague fancies of our glorious past and an immortal civilisation. But the past is dead and gone our immortal civilisation does not help us greatly in solving the problems of today. If we desire to find a solution for these problems we shall have to venture forth along new avenues of thought and search for new methods. The world changes and the truths of yesterday and the day before may be singularly inapplicable today. We have to follow the line of life in its evervaring curves and an attempt to adhere rigidly to an outworn creed may take us off at a tangent from this curve of life and lead us to disaster.**[8]

Kisans formed a majority of Indian masses. Their exploitation by the land lords and the rich-supported system was not unknown. Nehru never envisaged Swaraj in which few privileged could enjoy and the vast majority of Kisans and factory workers remained in object poverty. His concept of justice demanded equal opportunities of progress for all. On the condition of Kisans he was worried. He was convinced that the trouble of Kisans would be over only whenthey become the owners of the land and there are no big landlords.[9] Hence, Zamindari abolition and land reforms was a preconceived idea of the farmers of India's

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Constitution. The respective role assigned to the different organs of the State in Nehru's social justice is clear. He prefers Parliament and state Legislatures to Judiciary. This is so because he had unfailing faith in the democratically elected representatives representing the entire community. Judiciary has a fixed place in his socialism. He conceded that the Court could interfere only when there was gross abuse of law, a fraud on the Constitution. But he was convinced that no Parliament will commit a fraud on its own Constitution. In fact, the parliament, he believed, will very much be concerned with doing justice to the individual as well as to the community.[10] He never conceded any obstruction in the emancipation of the Kisans. He unequivocally asserted in the Constituent Assembly that no legal subtlety could come in the way of their emancipation.

If we look to the post-constitutional period of judicial construction, we find that the welfare provisions of our constitution dealing with social and economic justice were restricted by the Courts. The first bolt fell on the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950. This law provided for the transfer of the interests of proprietors and tenure-holders in land to the state on payment of compensation at certain multiples. It varied from twenty times to three times according to the income. Such laws were implicitly saved by Article 31 (4) and (6) of the Constitution. However, the Patna High Court struck down this Act as offending Article 14. This led to the First Amendment in the Constitution in 1951. The Statement of objects and Reasons of the Bill noted that the main objects of this Bill are to insert provisions fully securing the constitutional validity of Zamindari abolition laws in general and certain specified Acts in particular.[11]

The other blow of the Court fell on the economic welfare programme of the Govt. The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co. Ltd. was closed due to mismanagement and neglect. Consequently the production of an essential commodity was prejudicially affected and serious unemployment was caused among the labourers. The Central Govt., by law, took over the management and administration of the company and put these under the control of directors appointed by the Central Govt. One of the share-holders of the company inpugned the Constitutional validity of the law on the ground that he has been deprived of the right of management and administration without compensation. The Court upheld this plea and quashed the law.[12]

Thus, the Courts delayed the land-reforms as well as other social welfare measures. The judicial interpretation was status quoist and

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based on abstract jural norms of laissez-faire era. This interpretation clearly was in conflict with social justice as contemplated by Nehru. Irritated by such Court rulings, he once told to Justice M.C. Chagla that the judges impeded the progress of the Country.[13] He in 1955 maintained his view when he observed that the judiciary was not competent authority to judge the political, social and economic factors. This, according to his, fell within the domain of the Parliament or State Legislatures to consider such matters.[14]

This shows that Nehru contemplated the role of Courts as limited one. He neither was averse to the judges nor against judicial review. He believed that the courts were above political conflicts and had inherent right to interpret the law. But, if the interpretation given did not serve social purpose or object of the law, the Parliament should have a right to change the law. He firmly believed that the rule of law must run close to the rule of life. And the facts will not fit in without theories. It is for our theories to fit in with the facts as they are.[15]

Nehru was disillusioned with Court rulings which vetoed the march of his socialism. The incongruous legal theories dominated the arguments of our lawyers and reasoning of our judges. The result was that the expectations of the framers of the Constitution were stultified. This gave a jolt to socialist Nehru and his prophecy that 'somehow we found that this magnificent Constitution that we have framed was later kidnapped and purloined by the lawyers' come true.[16]

Nehru was the uncrowned king. He could have easily become a dictator.[17] But he was a true democrat and a rationalist humanist. He honoured the office of Prime-Minister by holding it, and the Prime-Ministership in itself did not add any luster to the reputation which he already enjoyed. Although he was sometimes upset by some of the decisions given by the courts, he always showed respect for the judiciary. He respected the rule of law and realised that it was the basis of every civilised society which gave to the individual citizen, high or low, a sense of security, as well as human dignity.[18]

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17. Nehru himself wrote this in an anonymous article entitled, "The Rashtrapati' published in the *Modern Review* in Nov. 1937.He wrote, 'every psychologist known that the mind is ultimately a slave to the heart and the logic can always be made to fit in with the desires and irrepressible urges of man, A little twist and Jawaharlal might turn a dictator sweeping aside the paraphernalia of a slow-moving democracy".Quoted in *19JILI* (1977) p. 181.
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PART III

THE PLANNER—WITH A MODERATE SOCIALIST ORIENTATION

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Nehru And Economic Planning

R.M. Saksena

Apology

The author, as a humble student, feels overwhelmed, overawed and carried in a flood of emotions while writing about Jawaharlal Nehru who had a multi-splendored and a multi-faceted personality. Emotions blur vision to distort logic. And, hence, the apology.

As the country and the world celebrates the Jawaharlal Nehru centenary, it is only natural that we recall the memory of the innumerable contributions which Nehru made. In the realm of economic planning, as in so many other fields, Nehru contributed not only heavily but fundamentally so as to be rightly and respectfully called as the architect, the father, of economic planning in India. But, before we proceed to examine the technical details, it is essential to keep in mind a few salient and striking aspects of his charismatic and debonair personality because it was precisely and largely these personali* traits which formed not only the backdrop but also the pivotal building blocks of economic planning in India.

Nehru's Personality and Economic Planning

Human behaviour is the function of human personality. The decisions we make, the successes we achieve and the mistakes we commit, all have their roots in our personality. And, obviously, Nehru was no exception. Born with a silver spoon in his mouth in a most affluent and a highly aristocratic family, Nehru had a powerful aesthetic sense—a very close familiarity with and appreciation for good things in life. At the feet of Gandhiji, however, he developed an understanding of and respect for the crores of people of his country who were reeling in the agony of the mass abject poverty. In the case of a normal human being, these twin forces would have created some confusion, some conflict, and some distortion in the building up of the value system. But, who said Nehru was a normal human being? His very powerful need for self-

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actualization elevated him much above the pedestal of normal human behaviour and turned him super-human. It energised his craving further to raise the living standards of his countrymen.

Far away from mock chivalry and dry rhetoricism, Nehru had a very realistic understanding of and a very earnest and proud appreciation for the rich cultural heritage of India evolved over a period of thousands of years and breathing the fragrance of unity in diversity. Yet, Nehru never allowed the dead hand of past to lay heavily on the shoulders of the present. He always manifested signs of restlessness to rid the country of all shackles that bind and constrain her and divide her people, and suppress vast numbers of them and prevent the free development of the body and the spirit. This was, to a large extent, the impact of the early years at Harrow and Cambridge where Nehru interacted with and acquired European liberalism. These twin forces, again, produced in Nehru a combination *par excellence* of strong nationalism and matured internationalism, a blend of respect for the past glory but a keen desire for fast future development.

Nehru was a true philosopher. He stressed upon the need for a philosophy of life in whatever was done. This had an obvious impact on his approach to economic planning. Nehru always felt that acquisition of material prosperity was to be sought simultaneously with spiritual advancement, the emphasis being on *Karma* and not on *Karmakanda*. He felt that planning was essential because otherwise we waste our resources which were very limited. He said "Planning does not mean a collection of projects or schemes but a thought-out approach of how to strengthen the base and pace of progress so that the community advances on all fronts."

Being a statesman, a great national (and international) leader, a great *Karmayogi*, and, above all, a great human being, it was quite natural for Nehru to have some clear and crisp views on the various economic systems. Inspite of India being called as 'the barking dog of British Imperialism, by Stalin, Nehru had respect and appreciation for Russian achievement after the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution but at the same time he was sure that in spite of its apparent success, Communism fails partly because of its rigidity but, even more so, because it ignores certain essential needs of human nature. About Capitalism, Nehru felt that it has far from solved its own problems, that there is a basic lack of something vital in it, that capitalism allied to Democracy has undoubtedly toned down many of its evils, but its major (undesirable) aspects remain. Nehru had no hesitation to proclaim as early as in his

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Presidential Address to the Indian National Congress 1936. "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in Socialism". To Nehru, Socialism was not only a way of life but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems. However, he was aware that Democracy and Socialism (put together, Democratic Socialism) were not ends in themselves but means to ends—the ends being material development coupled with spiritual progress.

Birth of Economic Planning in India

Renunciation of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* soon after the commencement of the present century, Russian Revolution 1917, Great Economic Depression 1929-32, and the world-wide urge and endeavour for freedom from imperialist-colonist exploitation and humiliation had its obvious impact on India as well. Under the epoch-making leadership of Tilak, Gandhi, and Nehru, India intensified its tireless struggle for political independence with a view to securing soon for its people economic independence. In 1934 Sir Visveswarayya published his famous book Planned Economy for India outlining a ten-year development Plan. Indian Economic Conference 1934-35 considered this proposal but no action could be taken on it. In October 1938, the then President of the Indian National Congress Subhash Bose called a meeting of the Provincial Industry Ministers to plan steps for country's development. The outcome of its deliberations was the setting up of the National Planning Committee under the Chairmanship of Nehru. This marked the first serious step towards introduction of the system of economic planning in India. And, hence, Nehru is called as the architect, the father, of economic planning in India.

It was Nehru's foresight and pre-voyance due to which required provisions were made in the Preamble, the Directive Principles of State Policy, the Fundamental Rights, and the other parts of the Constitution of India to foster development with Justice in the country. As Chairman of the Planning Commission, Nehru prepared the First Five Year Plan (FYP) and as Prime Minister he helped the people to give the FYP to themselves.

Ideological Foundation

The contrived social systems function effectively only when their

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ideological foundation is derived from the ethos and pathos, likings and dislikings, biases and prejudices, hopes and fears, strengths and weaknesses and other values evolved through the long period of history and cherished by the people. Nehru identified these values of the people astutely and appreciated them sincerely. Thus, a Socialist Pattern of Society and Welfare State became the guideposts of Indian economic planning. All that followed was an elaboration of and derivation from this ideology. It was essential to anchor the national effort in such ideology or else the endeavours would have become paradoxical and dys-functional.

Planning Strategy and Objectives

On the eve of Indian independence, the economy of the country was in a bad shape, totally shattered and crippled under prolonged imperialist-colonist exploitation. Fuel was added to fire with the partition of the country and the consequent large scale ethnic violence. Population migration exodus occured on a scale unprecedented in the history of the world. Nehru watched this with a bleeding heart and, yet, the *karmayogi* in him compelled him to initiate rapid planned economic development in the country.

At that time, it was quite probable for one to be carried away by the Unbalanced Growth Strategy adopted in Russia and China, which eventually led to *Perestroika* in Russia and economic liberalism and openness in China in late eighties. But Nehru was a great visionary. He preperred a rather Balanced Growth Strategy providing especially for the rapid development of basic, heavy and key industries. He sought to forge a balance between wish and capacity to grow, between agriculture and industry, between private and public sectors, between large and small scale units, between consumer and capital goods, between short and long gestation projects, between indigenous effort and foreign assistance, and between immediate and future needs. The Nehru—Mahalanobis Model did cause some hardship but certainly it created the base of the modern Indian economy.

Turning to objectives, Nehru assigned highest priority to securing a reasonable living standard for every individual member of the society. In so doing, he departed from Bentham's Utilitarianism to Vinoba's Sarvodaya. Nehru was convinced that political freedom was meaningless and could be even lost without economic freedom from poverty, hunger, ignorance, illiteracy, disease, blind faith, discrimination, *etc.* He declared "It is folly to talk of culture or even of

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God when human beings starve and die". To a careful reader, this shall remind of Stalin when he was asked to comment on non-provision of civic liberties in the Russian Constitution. But Nehru was much above Stalin. He knew that even though we discard philistine values, money will still have its way because

"All things human and divine renown,
Honour and Worth, at money's shrine go down"

Nehru was aware that human beings could live in dignity on earning and not on alms. So he gave the next highest priority to full Employment. On the one hand he sought the help of science and technology for rapid industrial development but on the other cautioned his people repeatedly and strongly to adopt family planning to keep a healthy equilibrium in the employment market and the country. It is a pity that his admonition on family planning failed to yield the desired results.

In 1929 itself Nehru had declared Socialism to be the soul of national policy in free India. Hence, while formulating objectives of economic planning, a very high priority was assigned to reduction in the disparities in the distribution of national income, national wealth and economic opportunity. It was towards the pursuit of this goal that *inter alia* reservation policy was formulated and implemented. Realising that the entire country was a system and it could live and develop only as a totality, Nehru provided for speedy development of the backward regions.

Constrained by the low level of economic development of the country at that time and motivated by the need to catch up fast with the affluent west, Nehru made provision for the selective inflow of foreign capital in 1949. To accelerate the tempo of industrial development, the industrial policy was drawn in 1948 and later amended suitably in 1956. With a view to achieving the socialist objectives of economic planning, public sector was assigned the role of king's Pin and allowed to control the commanding heights of the economy. However, with a view to providing economic freedom, private sector was invited to play a useful role. This led to the concept of mixed economy.

Probing deeper, Nehru sought to substitute imports, promote exports, restrain inflation, enforce fiscal discipline, induce people to curb population growth, and provide food for all.

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Planning Organisation

Nehru had the managerial capability and the administrative acumenship to understand that the bureaucracy had neither the professional competence not the required time to formulate plans for economic development of the country. Consequently, he devised the mechanism of the Planning Commission to formulate the development plans for the country and to advise the Government on key economic issues facing the country from time to time. The Planning Commission was set up in 1950 and its *de facto* stature can be understood from the mere fact that Prime Minister Nehru was its Chairman.

It was clear to Nehru that no plan, howsoever, good it was, could be impelented effectively unless it had the support in letter and spirit of the people. It was with a view to securing such people's participation in economic planning that Nehru conceived and delivered the mechanism of National Development Council (NDC). The NDC is the highest level body for policy making regarding economic planning in the country. It coordinates the development plans for the various states. Nehru—as Prime Minister—was its founder chairman with Chief Ministers of the various states and some others as its members. The idea behind the setting up of the NDC appears to have been two-fold. First, to iron-out the various differences between the states over the FYP and thus to secure a coordinated plan for development. Second, to involve the whole country indirectly in the process of plan formulation and thus to secure their moral commitment for effective plan implementation. One is welcome to hold difference of opinion, however, the NDC has discharged its duties well.

Plan Implementation and Monitoring

Every good manager knows, and so did Nehru, that plan formulation is not goal attainment. Nehru evolved a system of inter-ministry coordination and frequent consultations for effective plan implementation and monitoring. He also introduced the system of mid-term plan appraisal to effect suitable change while the plan was still under implementation. This helped in correcting the mistakes in time, adopting new measures, and making the plan more effective. The system continues even today.

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Planning Setbacks

Nehru made a contribution to economic planning in India which shall continue to inspire generation after generation. However, as the first Prime Minister of the country, his talks were manifold-economic Planning was one of these, though, indeed, an important one. During his tenure, the country, at times, had to face serious hardships. But to blame Nehru for that shall be unfair. Partition of the country, the related ethnic violence, and the resultant refugee problem was a gift of Jinnah's political ambition and British manoeuvring to India. Droughts, famines, and floods were natural calamities. Chinese aggression was a most treacherous betrayal of thousands of years of close friendship. Shortage of consumer goods and inflation was partly due to poor management of the distribution system and partly the price country paid then for the sound industrial base which the country enjoys today. Social and political institutions were still dormant in the field of family planning. Nehru had to go out frequently to project India's image internationally of which we enjoy the fruits today, and so on and so forth.

Torch-bearers of Nehru

Nehru had a vision of a world community living in peace, harmony and tranquility with each other substituting war by welfare, arms by aid, and conflict by collaboration. His torch bearers-Nanda, Shastri, and Indira have contributed their share towards the upliftment of the people. Rajiv is again taking the country forward. But eventually it is the people who have to contribute their might through the Panchayati Raj System being revived, rivamped, rejuvenated and revitalized under the dynamic and dedicated leadership of Rajiv.

To conclude the discussion on Nehru (and Economic Planning) one could do no better than quote Longfellow:

"Lives of greatmen all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime.
And departing, leave behind us,
Footprints on the sands of time".

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India's Tryst With Economic Growth

A.R. Padoshi

Modern India saw its emergence in 1947 with freedom from the Colonial Yoke and, as the late Jawaharlal Nehru aptly described it, with a 'Tryst with Destiny'. Panditjee was keenly interested in faster economic growth in India and the eradication of poverty, unemployment and inequality. He saw economic planning as the most appropriate way to achieve those objectives. As the Chairman of the Planning Commission from March 1950 to May 1964, Panditjee was the most dominant personality in the field of economic planning in India. We can, thus, say that with planning, there began 'India's Tryst with Economic Growth'.

Now, after 35 years of economic planning and 24 years of the death of the beloved first Prime Minister of free and democratic India, time has come for us to review the entire process of economic growth in India. Time has also come to examine as to how far we have marched towards an India which is free from poverty, unemployment and inequality and which was the dream of Panditjee.

The present study is a modest attempt in that direction.

The study has been divided into five sections, viz: Section I-A Review of Economic Growth, Section II-Possible Explanation of the growth, Section III-The Future Scenario, Section IV-Some Suggestions, and Section V-Summary and Conclusion. We begin with Section I:

I A REVIEW OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

India embarked upon the process of planned economic growth in 1951 with the beginning of the First Five Year Plan. The First Five Year Plan had a long term perspective of doubling the per capita real income in a period of 27 years. Since the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan in 1956, the emphasis, by and large, has been on rapid economic growth with the help of industrialization characterised by the growth of basic and heavy industries especially in the public sector. The target rate of growth from the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) to the current Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) has been 5 percent or a little over 5 percent per year. The targeted rate of growth for the Eighth Five Year

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Plan (1990-95) has been fixed as 6 percent per annum. However, inspite of fixing the target rate of growth of 5 percent or a little over 5 percent per year, the actual achievement of the rate of growth in India has generally been less than the targeted rate of growth. Table Number 1 shows the rates of growth, in the Net Domestic Product, achieved by India during the various Five Year Plans and during the periods when Five Year Plans were not in implementation. (During 1966-69 and 1979-80, there was no Five Year Plan as such.)

Table 1. *Growth Rates Achieved in Successive Plans*

PERIOD	NET DOMESTIC PRODUCT AT 1970-71 PRICES (Rs. BILLION)	GROWTH RATE PER CENT PER ANNUM.
1951-56	167.98	–
1956-61	199.69	3.58
1961-66	243.60	4.14
1966-69	273.35	2.36
1969-74	307.78	4.12
1974-79	362.69	3.36
1979-80	465.93	5.31
1980-85	440.94	–5.36
1985-90	576.54	5.66

Source: Dandekar V.M. 'Indian Economy Since Independence' in 'Economic and Political Weekly' 2-9 January 1988.

Table Number 1, which shows the rates of growth achieved by India, is self explanatory. However, if we consider the rate of growth between two end points viz. 1950-51 and 1985-90, the Net Domestic Product would increase from Rs. 167.98 billion in1950-51to Rs. 576.54 billion in 1985-90. This gives us an average annual rate of growth of 3.69 percent. However, when we calculate the trend rate of growth in the Net Domestic Product for the period 1950-51 to 1985-90, it turns out to be 3.57 percent per year. Thus it is clear that during the past 35-40 years the rate of growth in the Indian economy has been around 3.5 percent per year. Since this rate of growth has been almost constant and despite the increase in the size of the various Plans, it might have prompted the late Raj Krishna to label, 3.5 percent per year, as the 'Hindu Rate of Growth'. Similarly, when we compare the target of 5 percent per year on the one hand and the achievement of 3.57 percent per year on the other hand, we note that there has been an short fall of around 30 percent in the

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achievement of growth in india, every year. A shortfall (in the achievement) of 30 percent every year must be called serious. Thus we note that inspite of the various plans, Indian economy has been growing at a slow rate of growth.

After having examined the overall rate of growth in the Indian Economy, we now examine the Sectoral Composition of India's Economic Growth. It will be an analysis of the behaviour of growth in the various sectors of Indian Economy. Table No. 2 shows the necessary data.

Table 2. *Sectoral Shares in NDP By Board Classification*

SECTOR	SHARE IN THE N.D.P.					
	50-51	60-61	70-71	80-81	90-91	2000-01
1. Agriculture & Allied	61.99	55.86	49.09	41.89	34.60	27.55
2. Manufacturing	10.36	12.08	13.78	15.34	16.57	17.31
3. Construction	3.99	4.47	4.87	5.15	5.26	5.16
4. electricity etc	0.26	0.47	0.84	1.47	2.47	4.00
5. Transport & Communication	3.08	3.88	4.86	5.96	7.12	8.27
6. Trade & Hotel	8.37	9.86	11.33	12.61	13.56	14.03
7. Banking, Insurance Real Estate	3.35	4.10	4.95	5.90	6.90	7.90
8. Public Adm. Defence & other services	8.60	9.28	10.28	11.68	13.52	15.78
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**

Source:- Adapted from Dandekar V.M. "Op Cit".

Table No. 2 shows that right from 1950-51 onwards the agricultural sector has been experiencing a fall in its relative share in the N.D.P. and all other sectors have been experiencing a rise in their relative shares in the NDP. It has, indeed, been keeping with the expectation of the development process that there has been a fall in the relative share of the agricultural sector and a rise in the relative share of the non agricultural sector. Thus when we consider the position of the relative shares of the various sectors in 1950-51 and in 2000-01, we note that the share of agriculture will fall by 56 percent, and the share of manufacturing, construction, Electricity, Transport, Trade and Hotel, Banking, and Public Administration, will rise by 67 percent, 29 percent, 1500 percent,

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168 percent, 67 percent, 135 percent, and 83 percent respectively. Normally it is expected that, during the process of economic growth there should be a fall in the relative share of the agricultural sector and a rise in the relative share of the manufacturing share of the economy both being the productive sectors. The above statistics reveal that though there has been a fall in the relative share of the agricultural sector, the gain by the manufacturing sector has been one of the smallest (viz. 67 percent) in camparison to the gain by other sectors. It will thus be clear that the loss by the agricultural sector is not matched by the gain by the manufacturing share but by a gain by other sectors which has been an undesirable feature of the economic growth of India.[1]

We now examine the sectoral distribution of the economic growth in India from yet another angle. And that is the analysis of how the fall in the relative share of agriculture has been shared by other sectors of the Indian economy from decade to decade. The relevant data have been presented in Table No. 3 below.

Table 3. *Percentage Loss or Gain in Sectoral Shares in NDP in India*

	Agri-culture	Manu-facture	cons-truc-tion	Elec-tri-city	Tran-sport	Trade	Bank-ings	Public Admini-stration
50-51 to 60-61	–6.13	+1.72	+0.48	+0.21	0.81	1.49	0.74	0.68
60-61 to 70-71	–6.77	+1.70	+0.40	0.37	0.98	1.47	0.85	1.00
70-71 to 80-81	–7.20	+1.56	+0.28	0.63	1.10	1.28	0.95	1.40
80-81 to 90-91	–7.29	+1.23	+0.11	1.00	1.16	0.95	1.00	1.84
90-91 to 2000-1	–7.05	+0.74	–0.10	1.53	1.15	0.47	1.00	2.26

Source:- Adapted from Dandekar V.M. "Op Cit"

Table No. 3 is self-explanatory. However few observations will clarify the issues a little more. Thus during the decade of 1950-51 to 1960-61, the relative share of agriculture in the Net Domestic Product decreased by 6.13 percent. This fall in the relative share of agriculture was shared by other sectors and their relative shares in the NDP increased by the percentages written in brackets as follows:

Manufacture (1.72%) Construction (0.48%) Electricity (0.21%) Transport (0.81%) Trade (1.49%) Banking (0.74%) and Public Administration (0.68%). (Table No.3 should be read similarly for other decades). Further observation of Table No.3 makes it clear that during 1950-51 to 2000-01 (i.e. in nearly 50 years) the sectors of Manufacture,

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Construction and Trade have been continuously experiencing a fall in their shares in the loss by agriculture. On the other hand the sectors of Electricity, Transport, Banking and Public Administration have been experiencing a continuous rise in their shares in the loss of agriculture. It further means that during 1959-51 to 2000-01, though the relative share of agriculture has been decreasing in India, the relative share of manufacture has not been improving commensurately. The loss by agriculture has not been matched by commensurate gain by manufacture. On the other hand, the loss in the relative share of agriculture has resulted in commensurate increase in the relative share of the Service Sector in general and Public Administration in particular. Table No. 3 (Column No. 9) clearly shows that Public Administration as a sector has been accounting for more and more, (from decade to decade) of the fall in the relative share of agriculture in NDP. Thus, in 1950-51 to 1969-61, manufacture accounted for 28 percent and Public Administration accounted for 11 percent of the fall in the relative share of agriculture. While in 1990-91 to 2000-01, the manufacture will account for 11 percent and Public Administration will account for 32 percent of the fall in the relative share of agriculture in the NDP in India. A process of economic growth where the sector of Public Administration has been growing fast and manufacture as a sector grows sluggishly cannot be called a "Proper process of growth,. According to Ghosh,[2] it merely represents a call (or demand) made by the Administration on the material Product of the Economy. A growth process which is dominated by the Productive sectors (viz. agriculture and manufacture) can be called 'Production oriented Growth' while the growth process dominated by the Service Sector in general and by Public Administration in Particular can be called 'Consumption Oriented Growth'. Thus Indian Economic growth has been 'Consumption Oriented growth' which is undesirable for a developing economy like India characterised by poverty, and unemployment[3]. What is needed in India is relatively faster growth of the Productive Sectors which, unfourtunately has not been taking place.

The third aspect of Indian economic growth from 1950-51 onwards has been its inequitable character which has resulted in the concentration of income and growth in the disparities of income distribution, especially between the agricultural sector and the non-agricultural sector. Table No. 4 shows the relevant data.

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Table 4. *Disparity in Per Capita N.D.P. at 1970-71 Prices*

YEAR	PER CAPITA N.D.P. IN AGRI.	PER CAPITA N.D.P. IN NON AGRI.	N. AGRI. AGRI. RATIO
1951-53	405.66	593.13	1.46
1954-58	421.95	677.34	1.61
1959-67	401.91	902.55	2.25
1968-75	398.83	1068.97	2.68
1976-83	415.61	1216.78	2.93

Source:- Dandekar V.M. 'Economic and Political Weekly' 2-9 January, 1988.

Point to point Comparison:

1. Per capita N.D.P. in agriculture increased by only 2.5% in 30 years or 0.08% p.a.
2. Per capita N.D.P. in Non-agriculture increased by 105% in 30 years or 3.5% p.a.

It will be clear from Table No. 4 as to how the disparity in the Per Capita NDP has been increasing in India since 1951. If we make point to point comparison of the per capita NDP in the agricultural sector and the non-agricultural sector we note that the per capita NDP in agriculture increased by only 2.5% in 30 years or only by 0.08% per year while the per capita NDP in the non-agricultural sector increased by 105 percent in 30 years or by 3.5 percent per year. According to, Raj Krishna,[4] the real earnings of the organised labour has been increasing at a rate of 2 to 3.5 percent per year while the real earnings of the agricultural labour is practically stagnant. The growth in the disparity in the distribution of personal incomes and purchasing power has also been admitted by many economists in India.[5]

Apart from aggravating the disparities in the distribution of income, the growth process in India has also resulted in the growth of the disparities in the ownership and control of productive resources.

Thus, to recapitulate, the main characteristics of economic growth in India, we note that the economic growth in India has been slow, consumption oriented and has resulted in the aggravation of the disparities in the distribution of income and assets.

I I POSSIBLE EXPLANATION

In the present section we make an attempt to have a possible explanation for the way which economic growth has been taking place in

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India. We try to have the explanation by considering the supply side and the demand side. In supply side we consider as to why Net Domestic Product has not been growing at the desired rate. In demand side we examine whether the nature of effective demand in India has constrained the process of growth. We begin with supply side.

While considering the supply side we mainly examine the productivity of productive resources in India. The level of productivity of the factors of production is crucially important in bringing forth the desired quantum of the Net Domestic Product at the desired rate. We expect that there should be an improvement in the efficiency of resource use in general and particularly in the use of the scarce resources. The concept of 'Capital: Output Ratio' which indicates, within limits: the efficiency in the use of capital will be a reasonably reliable guide to indicate the level of efficiency in the use of capital. That will also explain as to why the desired supply of the Net Domestic Product has not been coming forth from our productive resources. Table No 5 shows the position of the Capital Output Ratio in Indian Economy.

Table 5. *Implied Capital Output Ratio*

PERIOD	C.O. RATIO
1956-61	2.61
1961-66	3.15
1969-74	2.81
1974-79	3.05
1980-85	6.21
1985-90	6.25

Source:- Dandekar V.M. in 'Economic and Political Weekly' 2-9 January, 1988.

Table number 5 clearly shows that the implied capital output ratio has almost continuously been increasing in India right from 1956. On the basis of a point to point comparison,the impiled capital output ratio has increased by more than 2.39 times since 1956, showing clearly that Indian economy has been needing more and more capital to produce a unit of production. Use of more capital, by itself, does not necessarily show inefficient or wasteful use of capital. However, we have to remember that, right from 1956, inspite of the rise in the capital output ratio, we have not been achieving the targeted rate of growth. Thus the rise in the value of capital output ratio on the one hand and less than targeted rate of growth achieved on the other, shows, to a great extent the inefficiency in the use of capital in India. (K.N. Raj does not

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completely agree with this observation).[6] Similarly it has also been pointed out that, in India, there has been extremely small improvement in factor productivity and during 1970-85, there has been virtually no increase in factor productivity. Thus it is the lack efficiency in the use of resources that has been hampering economic growth in India from the side of Supply.

We now consider the role of demand factor in the process of economic growth in India. For rapid economic growth, generation of effective demand (and its satisfaction by commensurate increase in supply) is essential. The main determinant of effective demand is income. As has already been noted, the growth process in India has aggravated the disparity in urban/rural incomes and in the distribution of personal incomes. Dandekar[7] has shown that, for the period 1951-85, despite widespread undernourishment, the income elasticity of demand for food in India, has been very low viz. 0.03, and the reason for this must be sought in inequitable income distribution. The disparity in the distribution of income has made the demand force in the Indian economy extermely narrow and incapable of accelerating the growth of the economy as a whole. Deficiency of demand constraining the growth has been pointed out by Chakravarty.[8]

Thus, the supply force and the demand force, both, have been constraining the economic growth in India.

III WHAT NEXT

In the present section we try to examine the nature of Indian economy in the foreseeble future and also make an attempt to understand the problems which the Indian economy will have to face. Indian economy, as a whole, is very likely to remain a rural and predominently agricultural economy even by the beginning of the 21st century. The relative share of agriculture in the Net Domestic Product is likely to be around 25 percent by which agriculture would still remain the largest single activity as regards contribution to the Net Domestic Product. As regards the total labour force, agriculture is expected to absorb arcund 65 percent of the total labour force. Thus, the agricultural sector and hence the rural sector is very likely to be the major sector of India.

As regards the distribution of population between rural and urban areas, the foreseeble future is likely to have larger percentage of rural population. Similarly the rural labour force is likely to be a massive one in

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absolute size. According to estimates, the rural population is likely to be 720.18 million and rural labour force is likely to be 342.08 million by the year 2001. The relevant data are presented in Table No. 6.

Table 6. *Rural Urban Composition of Population and Work Force in India 1981-2001*

	RURAL		URBAN		(MILLION) TOTAL	
Year	Population	Labour Force	Population	Labour Force	— Population	Labour Force
1981	537.97	242.09	165.53	61.24	703.50	303.33
1991	627.72	288.75	235.95	90.84	863.37	379.59
2001	720.18	342.08	330.71	133.93	1050.19	476.01

Source: Dantwala M.L. "Agrarian Structure and Agrarian Relations in India" in Dantwala M.L. (Ed.) 'Indian Agricultural Development since independence' Oxford and IBH Publishing Company, 1986 p. 69.

Thus the rural sector will have to be given serious attention in future.

Similarly, we must remember that, even by the beginning of 21st century, the twin problems viz. Poverty and Unemployment is very likely to be with us. Unfortunately, economic growth so far, has not made a significant dent on the twin problems of poverty and unemployment. As regards employment, the expectation that the industrial sector will employ progressively more and more labour and will thus help to solve the problem of unemployment, has completely failed in India. In fact, as the Economic Survey 1987-88 has pointed out the employment in the private industrial sector has actually fallen from 7.55 million in 1983 to 7.37 million in 1987.[9] Thus the problem of unemployment is likely to be a serious one in future. As regards the positive association between unemployment and poverty, inspite of the difference in opinions,[10] there is believed to be some positive association between poverty and unemployment. Thus Indian Economy will have to answer the problems of slow growth, disparity in income distribution, poverty and unemployment. The following section contains some suggestions to solve the problems.

IV SUGGESTIONS

The problems of Indian economic growth identified by us are as follows: (a) Slow growth (b) Inequalities in distribution (c)

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Perpetuation of poverty and unemployment.

Clearly, there is an urgent need to expedite the growth process in Indian economy. For this, it will be necessary to strengthen the supply force as well as the demand force.

As regards the supply force, all out efforts will have to be made to improve the productivity of the resources in future. Particularly, attempts must be made to make efficient use of the scarce resources like capital. The rise in the capital output ratio must be arrested. For this, emphasis must be placed on those productive activities where capital output ratio is lower. Maximum production should be obtained from such fields of production. Agriculture and the rural sector offer excellent opportunity in this direction. So future economic growth (at least the economic growth in the near future) will have to pay relatively more attention to the development of agriculture and the rural economy. Attempts must be made to diffuse, over a larger area, the modernization of agriculture which has been concentrated in a few states at present. We must remember, in this context, that inspite of nearly 23 years of green revolution and the growth in the use of modern inputs, Indian agriculture by and large, has remained traditional and hence unproductive. Chakravarty[11] has shown that even by the year 1982-83 the share of modern inputs in Indian agriculture as a whole was 30.41 percent only. Agricultural revolution in the right sense has still not taken place in India. This must be changed urgently. Diffusion of the process of agricultural modernization will contribute handsomely to the improvement in the efficiency of resource use, help lower capital output ratio, and usher in true agricultural revolution, which, in process will give impetus to industrial development. Thus supply factor will be greatly taken care of by the agricultural and rural sector.

As regards the demand factor in Indian economy, attempts must be made to reduce the concentration of income and generate purchasing power in the hands of those who are living below or just above the poverty line bulk of whom live in villages. We must remember here, that a reduction in the income disparities and redistribution of income in favour of the rural poor extremely difficult in India unless it is preceded and supported by appropriate institutional changes, land reforms being the major of them (Unfortunately, despite nearly 40 years of planning, land reforms have still not been completed in India). However, if such a redistribution of assets takes place, it has a great potential of giving a tremendous boost to Indian economy by generating the required effective demand. Mellor's[12] observation *viz.* "the structure of rural

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demand generated by a unimodal pattern of agricultural development fosters more rapid growth of output and employment in manufacturing and other non farm sectors." is highly pertinent here. Such a transformation in the agricultural sector will have to precede the revolution in industries. Ghosh[13] rightly remarks that,"an agricultural revolution based on thorough institutional changes and improved technology should precede industrial revolution".

An activization of supply and demand factors on the above lines(i.e., through a diffusion of agricultural development, appropriate institutional changes and redistribution of incomes) will also mitigate to a very great extent the severity of unemployment and poverty in India. As we have already noted, the industrial sector is totally in-capable of employing the swelling labour force in India, so future employment generation in India will have to take place in the agricultural and rural sector. However we have to remember that even the agricultural and rural sector does not have an unlimited capacity of employment generation. According to Dantwala,[14] "There is evidence to suggest that crop cultivation has exhausted its capacity to accommodate the increasing labour force". However, a dynamic agriculture can contribute, within limits, to employment generation in India.

Provision of gainful employment which is associated with a redistribution of assets holds the key to the solution of poverty problem of India. As has been noted above, despite the differences of opinions, there is some agreement among economists that poverty and unemployment are positively associated in India. Thus provision of gainful and productive employment will lead, in many cases, to the eradication of poverty.

Only then, India's Tryst with Economic Growth will come near completion.

V SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We can summarise our study as under:

1. Economic growth in India has been slow, consumption oriented and inequitable
2. Both the forces viz. Supply and demand have been constraining economic growth in India.
3. Indian economy is very likely to be rural and agricultural even in the foreseeable future. Poverty and unemployment are likely to be with us.

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4. Development of rural sector, through the diffusion of agricultural transformation and generation of demand from rural sector holds the key to future growth.

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Narratives
On Public Sector A Child Of Nehru's Dreams

P.C. Pandey

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru has occupied the status of the most popular leader among the "Architects" of modern India and "Designers" of modern Indian economy. His consciousness about the probable barriers of socio-economic growth, which could emerge after independence, is traceable in his speeches in 1936-37. The worries, expressed in the context of India's future and hurdles that would be faced after independence, were as below:

(a) Shortage of expertise and technology towards modernisation of free Indian economy;
(b) Shortage of capital in terms of liquid funds to sponsor a vast programme of industrial growth and improve rural living conditions;
(c) Investment inertia and absence of favourable atmosphere for entrepreneurs to work enthusiastically;
(d) Barriers relating to shortage of adequate demand to keep the incentives alive for investors if income and consumption levels do not grow;
(e) Adaptation of development values by illiterate traditional and fatalistic masses.

In order to overcome inhibitions to growth in colonially overlapped economy, it was felt that state-perticipation would have to be sizeably increased. Mahatma Gandhi had also emphasized the need of rural revitalisation and agricultural progress. At the advent of freedom it was clear that free India will have to struggle hard to mobilize capital, prepare infractructure, build institutions, train the personnel, manage technological extension, provide investment finance and promote entrepreneurship. Thus, state will have to undertake catalytic roles of affording the supply-guarantees of power, technology, finance, skill, market and organisation. State may have to combine participatory roles with the existing regulatory roles.

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Indian economy faced these problems, as stipulated before, in 1948 when the question of Industrial Policy emerged. Obvious problems arose regarding the extent of proliferation of public sector and demarcating the roles and rights of private entrepreneurship. Even then serious doubts sheltered the brains of designers regarding the extent of proliferation of public sector. Taking in view the working styles of government sector employees at higher as well as lower levels, one could easily make out that public sector shall prove to be *sinquanon* of red tapism, delays, bribery, inefficiency and grievous losses to the economy. Non-viability would surround all public sector activity. Elders felt that competition, efficiency, initiative and profitability would be largely missing in state enterprizes. Since the activities under public sector would be of importance and basic, value failure in these would paralyse the entire economy. Essential services like banking, rail, road, ports, post and telegraph, energy, mining, defence production, steel and iron, air transport, aeronautics etc. would come under the grip of public sector. These misapprehensions were well settled in the current thinking in 1947-48. But in the wake of enthusiasm these apprehensions were burshed aside.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was of the firm opinion, "industrialisation produces steel, it produces power. They are the base. Once you have got the base, it is easy to build. The strategy, governing planning in India, is to industrialise and that means the basic industries being given the first place."[1] His views received full expression in making the strategy for Second Five Year Plan. Nehru was influenced by suggestions of Prof. P.C. Mahalonobis who under Russian style concentrated on development of basic machines, metals, and heavy industries for making the economy self-reliant for rapid industrialisation. The alternate strategy of focusing on light industries, village small-scale sector and consumer goods production was not acceptable toNehru for its obvious weaknesses of greater woven-dependence on imports in future. The capacity building was found essential for a vigorous industrialisation though cost-wise it was unfavourable. This choice of Pt. Nehru is truly, the token of his foresighted decision-making. Nehruji believed that the surpluses from the small-scale sector and primary sector were the sources to finance the large-scale capacity building, therefore, the productivity and efficiency of these was a precondition to industrialisation without undergoing an inflationary pressure. Therefore, Nehru—Mahalonobis model emphasized development of agriculture and cottage industries. In the Third Plan Document Nehru stated, "The test of a country's advance in industrialisation is heavy industry not the

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small industries that may be put-up. This does not mean that small industries should be ignored. They are highly important in themselves for production and for employment."[2] In the Second Plan frame-work also Pt. Nehru reiterated full capacity-use in small, and light industries for creating the surplus for reinvestment. Unless food-sufficiency and self-reliance in supply of materials is attained, the resources for import of heavy machinery cannot be found out.

Dominant role in the economy of India had to be given to public sector which was to shoulder the burden of building heavy-machines and structures towards catering machines and tools to small-sector. Infra-structure for industrial and technological break through was to be achieved by emphasis on public sector. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru understood the implications of shortage of employment opportunities immediately to absorb the back-log of unemployed mass. The problem would be enormous if all investments were concentrated in the heavy industries. He emphasized the expansion of small-scale sector and agriculture to help-out the employment. Besides, Mahalonobis strategy expected the private sector to devote for consumer's goods sector of production and expand employment for growing labour force. Practically such hopes were meaningless.

Capital intensity reduces employment and heavy investments of long gestation period cause inflation unless counter-acted by other measures. Agriculture alone could help at this juncture but it required the capital, already short. Unemployment as well prices could be controlled, had the investible resources been diverted from heavy industries but Nehruji kept firm on his strategy of raising capital intensity in machine-making machines and installing adequate capacity so that the country did not have to depend on the grace of the imperialists. The Sixth Draft Plan under Janata regime also agreed to the fact that it is a cause of legitimate national pride that over this period of *Planned action for development,* a stagnant and dependent economy had been modernized and made more self-reliant".[3] It was, however, clear that growing unemployment, soaring prices and increasing demand for consumer goods prepared the background in which capitalist class could make the best gains. J.D. Sethi remarked, "when Nehru admitted in 1964 that he had failed Gandhi, it was too late. The Indian Marxists, who had promised to produce an alternative to both Gandhi and capitalism, chose to tie themselves to Moscow and Nehru, during whose regime Indian big business experiences fastest growth-rate ever, saw poverty and inequalities increased".[4] Alvares Claude expressing his concern over

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declining state of cottage and small industries in India and falling employment growth in this sector blamed the strategy of building heavy industries. Indian Express observed, "How long can we continue to assume the illusion that when the British destroyed local industries, that was wicked, but that when we do so, it is desirable."[5] The Mainstream expressed dissatisfaction over slow growth over the decades in agriculture which was the root of all troubles.[6]

Industrial Policy Resolution 1948 had created identified sectors; (a) state owned sector for arms and ammunition, atomic energy, railways, etc., (b) *strategic sector* covering air crafts, ship building, telephone, telegraph, radio, mineral oil, coal, iron steel etc, where only public sector could establish new enterprizes; (c) *basic industrial sector* covering automobiles, tractors, electric engineering, machine and precision tools, heavy machinery, chemicals, prime movers, fertilizers, non-ferrous metals, rubber-makes, power and alcohol, cotton and woollen textiles, cement, paper, sugar, air and sea transport, and such other areas. Government undertook to plan and regulate these and see to their effective growth over time; (d) *residual sector* of industries which were open to private sector and state undertook to encourage and boost-up private sector by providing necessary infra-structure. This policy created a terror for private enterpreneurs who felt that the scope for private initiative had been closed for ever in India. Internationally, India was blamed for entering into the communist style of complete state regulation.

Industrial Policy Resolution 1956, however, was more clear and specific. It reduced the categorisation of industries to three groups: (a) The first *schedule-A* covered areas of state monoply; (b) *schedule-B* consisted of areas which were to be progressively state owned and state would expand and establish while private units, as they existed, could supplement state effort within regulations. (c) The rest, *schedule-C,* was left to private sector, of course, within the framework of policy limitations.

The state sector had been expanded so extensively to seventeen demarcated areas like defence works, atomic energy, iron steel, heavy machinery, castings, coal, electricals, petroleum, copper, lead, Zinc, air transport, shipbuilding, railways, telegraph and telephone, electricity and wireless. The sector B covered twelve major areas which contained scope for expansion. i.e. aluminium, nonferrous metals, machine tools, alloys, chemical industries, antibiotics drugs, fertilizers, rubber, road transport and shipping. Government, however, guaranteed that private

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sector would be given non-discriminatory treatment and all encouragements would be ensured to it including technology and finance.

The strategy built by Nehru had the special merit of combining political as well as economic power towards growth and at the same time reducing the foreign hand to avoid sabotage in the hands of imperialists. Public sector constructions and vigorous building, with poor administrative calibre of the government, led to corruption and illegitimate sector of blackmoney causing the hurdles for the exchequer.[7] Rangachari expressed his pessimism over public sector performance in terms of profitability and productivity.[8] The drawbacks, of course, are traceable even in the west where the public sector operates.[9] UNIDO World Development Report (1983) shows that in most of the third world countries Indian model of public enterprizes had been imitated. Rumania, Hungary, Syria, Tunisia, Egypt, Tanzania, Burma, Ethiopia, Bangladesh, Nicaragua etc. had experimented public sector in various production areas. D.K. Rangnekar felt that the Industrial, policy Resolution, 1956 failed to pluck the loopholes in toto. He stated, "The industrial Policy Resolution, 1956 set out some of the principles of Nehru's philosophy though it retained sufficient ambivalence to placate the uncommited elements."[10]

Industrial licensing frame-work of policy in Nehru's guidance under Industrial Development and Regulation Act 1951 laid down that while granting licence for new undertakings government could lay down conditions regarding location, minimum size etc. as and when necessry. Government reserved the right to investigate and review the progress and performance of any industry with regard to output, quality, cost structure, price frame, alternative techniques etc. to save the national interest and to safeguard interest of consumers. If any industry fails to improve as per instructions it may be taken over by the government in public interest. State was the regulator of prices and channels of distribution. The Central Advisory Council for Industrial Development (1952) was Nehru's creation to keep a thorough check on the slow going areas. Small units having less than 100 workers and Rs 10 lakh capital were left free to expand unlicensed. This loophole was exploited by industrial houses like Birla's by multiplicity of applications under various brands. Regional balancing was neglected in Nehru's industrial development scheme and the licences were not carefully followed up in course of implementation which marks the inadequacy of administration and unwillingness of the bureaucracy to work in line with national

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aspirations.[11] The findings of Subimal Dutt indicated that government has been cheated in wordings and multiplicity of registration of firms though these belong practically to a handful of industrial business houses managed by men of a single family closely knit and related.[12] Nehru was betrayed in *good faith* by enterpreneurial magnets in collusion with the administration netted in the social contacts of liaison offices of Big Houses in Delhi. "In contravention of the laid down announced policy," noted Dutta Committee, "in case of synthetic rubber and chemical pulp all licences were allocated to the private sector. "Decisions to permit development of certain industries in schedule 'A' through private enterprize and to encourage the bulk of the development of industries in schedule 'B' mainly through private enterprize must have been taken by government at highest level".[13] 62 per cent licences flowed to 5 industrially advanced states while the backward states were ignored. Two third and even more licences for machine tools, industrial machinery, metallurgical and non-metallurgical units, railway equipment etc. had been doled out to 5 states as if other states did not exist. The so called foreign collaboration was allowed in consumer goods like toilet soap, sewing thread, ball point pens, and loud speakers besides several other areas which do not need a very advanced technical skill. These covered 10 per cent cases as noted in Dutta Committee Report. This was not the best way of utilizing already rare foreign exchange. In his own regime Pt. Nehru's public sector got hardly 47 crores rupees as assistance by term financing while private powerful and magnet houses accounted for 44 per cent aid out of Rs. 498 crores spent on such assistance between 1955 to 1966. It is quite strange that public sector units like 'Unit Trust' and L.I.C. allocated 57 per cent of their financial assistance of "term finance" to 20 big industrial houses. Out of Rs. 982 crores of total assistance, Rs. 304 crores was shared by 20 big houses and Nehru's bureaucrats closed the doors for small deserving units. These instances show that the slow growth and rampant corruption emerged because of betrayals against Nehru's *good faith*.

Public sector, worth the name's sake, in 1947 covered railways, Post and Telegraph, Port Trusts, ordinance and aircraft factories. Some small departmental enterprizes of research and medicines were also in operation. In 1986-87 survey of public enterprizes[14] shows them as 226 in central government's perview, having investment worth Rs. 61603 crores. Enterprizes which are primarily goods producing relate to power, steel, minerals and metals, coal, chemicals-fertilizers and pharmaceuticals, petroleum, engineering, transport equipment, textiles

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consumer goods, agro-based units etc. Besides there are service producing units comprising goods and passenger transport, finance, trade and marketing etc. Nearly Rs. 11090 crores is invested in service producing sector. The top ten public enterprizes are:

NAME OF THE ENTERPRIZE	INVESTMENT (CRORES RS.) 1987
1. S.A.I.L. (Steel Authority of India Limited)	6416
2. C.I.L. (Coal India Ltd.)	6275
3. N.T.P.C. (National Thermal Power Corporation)	6148
4. R.I.N.L. (Rastriya Ispaat Nigam Ltd.)	3116
5. O.N.G.C. (Oil & Natural Gas Commission)	3078
6. N.A.C.L. (National Aluminium Co. Ltd)	2633
7. R.E.C.L. (Rural Electrification Corp. Ltd.)	2112
8. F.C.I. (Food Corp. of India)	1996
9. M.T.N.L. (Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Ltd.)	1284
10. N.T.C. (National Textile Corporation)	1237

If all state, central, local and departmental enterprizes are included, we had, investments worth Rs. 90000 crores in 1987 in public enterprizes. Some of the enterprizes work as departmental units, some are under Boards, some have corporations, some work as companies.

Socialist pattern of society, the ideal to which India committed itself in 1954 can be realised when Nehru's dreams of strong public sector affords the expected gains to Indian people. So far the role of public sector has been growing but not at a pace expected from it specially in terms of productivity, efficiency and profitability. The Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy, Bombay, has prepared the estimates of roles played by public enterprizes in Indian context and it shows the roles growing with time.

SHARE OF PUBLIC ENTERPRIZES — **percentage Share**

Role Area	**1985**	**1951**
1. contribution to net domestic product	25.0	7.5
2. contribution to gross domestic capital formation	54.0	27.0
3. share in gross domestic savings	14.0	17.0
4. share of employment in organised sector	70.0	59.0

(C.M.I.E., Basic Stat.; vol. I, Aug. 1986)

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The foremost challenge today in Indian economy is of creating employment for skilled and unskilled man power, seeking jobs. Most of the investible resources are retained in public sector where we expect a great leap forward for employment generation. Public sector employment has two major wings, e.g. administration, defence and public services and the goods producing and service producing public sector units. Nearly 177 lakh workers were engaged in public sector in 1986 constituting 6.6 per cent of labour force at hand. Total organised sector employs only ten per cent people and the rest 90 per cent are covered by unorganised wing of the economy. In all nearly 250 lakh workers are engaged in the organised sector in 3300 lakh labour force. Out of the 250 lakh 177 lakh are in the public sector enterprizes and administration. The later has as high as 47 per cent share. It is known that administration is unproductively over staffed and net contribution to productivity is declining every year. Nearly 29 lakh workers are reported working in transport, communication, storage and related sectors who are comparatively more productive. The manufacturing part of employment of nearly 181 lakh workers add substantially to national earnings while these represent hardly 10.2 per cent of workers in public sector. Constructions have 11.8 lakh workers representing 6.7 per cent of employment. Financing, insurance, real estates and other related public sector services of business have nearly 10.3 lakh workers constituting 5.8 per cent of public sector employment. The vast number of workers in public sector, 83.2 lakh, belong to administration, community development, social and public services wherein the dash and initiative for public service is growing inversely to rising wages and amenities at the cost of the millions of illfed, illclothed and uncared free citizens of independent India. Public sector's share in net domestic product of India has been rising over the years and specially the growth in share of public sector enterprizes has increased from 3.0 per cent to 15.6 per cent during 1951 to 1985. Private sector held 92.5 per cent share in 1951 which has dwindled to 75.5 per cent now.

Share of public sector in gross domestic capital formation has been rising since the beginning. In 1951 this stood at Rs. 260 crores out of 954 crores in entire national economy representing 27 per cent. It has reached Rs. 26772 crores in 1985 out of Rs. 49781 crores making nearly 54 per cent. But in terms of domestic savings the share of public sector has miserably been falling over the years in a consistent fashion. It was Rs. 168 crores in 1951 in public sector out of 975 crores for the entire economy (17 per cent). By 1960-61 in Nehru era it climbed to Rs. 425

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crores out of Rs. 2063 crores of total saving which showed 21 per cent share. After 1961, the gross domestic savings in public sector have fallen continuously as a percentage of total national savings. In 1970-71 the total national savings were Rs. 6783 crores out of which, the share contributed by public sector was Rs. 1253 crores making around 19 per cent share. A decade after, when national gross domestic savings stood at Rs. 20084 crores, public sector subscribed Rs. 4590 crores which shows around 16 per cent share. At the end of Sixth plan (1985) the total savings were Rs. 47206 crores in which public sector had a share of Rs. 6788 crores only. This is around 14 per cent of the total savings.[15] It is much too clear to any observer that 'productivity' and 'profitability' in public sector have been neglected children and may even collapse if positive steps are not taken. It is a happy augury that grand son of Pt. Nehru has cared for the sentiments and aspirations of late nation builder and tried his best to revitalise, and improve the performance of public sector in recent years.

"What ails the child?" can be answered by diagnosis and reading the prognostic details. Ray notes, "By and large, the manufacturing, service and infra-structural units in public sector in India are not viable. These are largely ridden by non-professionalism, external interferences, and spend thrift recklessness. As a result many of these units are rapidly becoming a national liability and a drain on exchequer." The state enterprizes like State Electricity Boards, transport corporations etc have proved to be big liabilities on resources preserving and increasing wastefulness, inefficiencies and growing losses. Irrigation works also have imposed whopping losses over the years. The public undertakings of central government like railways, national thermal units, and shipping units have shown extremely poor performance. The Fertilizer Corporation, Eastern Coal Fields, Delhi Transport Corporation, Hindustan Fertilizers, Bharat Aluminium, Indian Iron Steel Company, Bharat Cooking Coal Ltd., and Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals etc., have continued erosion on resources. The organisations are headed and managed by politically chosen incompetent hands and proliferation of staff absolutely for nothing has increased the liabilities. Bureaucratic burdening has left no scope for use of technical skills and efficient functioning. The roles of technically competent economists in management have been ignored and technologists have been disregarded eliminating the challenges and initiatives. This state was hated by Nehru even in administrative departments during his regime. Viability and profitability criteria have been solely dropped in favour of

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luxuries of administrators and red-tapism. Accountability has been diluted, skill has been down graded, genius and enterprize have been thrown in dustbins. When engineers and learned scholars of academics are keen to capture bureaucratic positions, it is clear that imperialist traditions still prevail. Public sector is in the clutches of incompetence of politicians and bureaucrats. For lack of accountability the overlords in public enterprizes waste resources for pompus ceremonies and inaugurations instead of working for improved performance. It is also, at times, suspected that private enterpreneurs win over the public enterprize officials to their gain wherever these firms face a competition with public sector. Even in the public sector units which are shown making profits, if post-tax returns are checked, the net profits are only nominal. Bhandari (1970) had argued that since the enterprizes in public sector are financed by borrowings, the earnings, interests on loans and dividends on equity from public enterprizes should be equal to the interest charges payable by the government on borrowed finance.[16] Unfortunately the cash returns on investments in these undertakings have been less than the interest rates. In 1961-62 the return on capital was 1.7 per cent which slowly grew to 5 per cent in 1973-74, 7.3 per cent in 1976-77 but fell to 5.6 per cent in 1979. Since 1981-82, however, the rate has consistently improved to 9.5 per cent and in 1986-87, it reached 12.5 per cent.[17] It may be remembered that the slight improvement in recovery is the result of the revision of the administered prices vertically rather than by the intensive use of capacity-installed and by the growth in efficiency, and over all reduced cost of production due to improved management. The entire sector needs review and proper regulations regarding appointment of the executive and management by proper competent body and political appointments should be avoided.

Nehru cherished an intense desire to see *'the little child of his dreams'* to grow faster as well as to attain a balanced behaviour, wisdom and repute of being the guide-ideal of rest of the sectors. But even after 25 years of his departure, the public sector is reluctant to improve its performance as a *'spoilt* ild of over-caring mother. Balasubramanium's article on "Tamil Speaking Ore" published long ago in Hindustan Times, when Salem Steel Project was being established, questioned the permissible economics of proposing a site of steel plant at Salem on the basis of the lignite believed to be found in Neyveli. The quality of the ore in Salem was inferior for steel-making while the best of the iron ore was shipped to Japan for her steel-manufacture. The decisions were taken and investments made without proper investigations. Within a short span of

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time it was reported that Neyveli is running out of lignite even for its primary purpose of fuelling its own power generating complex. Infact, political appeasement of Karunanidhi's D.M.K. was strategically important towards elections in 1970. This instance shows that public sector has often disregarded Waterson's (1966) criterion that defines" "planning as an organised, intelligent attempt to select the best available alternatives to achieve specific goals". When cost considerations and feasibilities are neglected, it is futile to expect that public sector shall constitute the major source of foreign exchange earnings to Indian economy. A throtling shock is felt today by every enlightened Indian, irrespective of political affiliations and factions, that the huge investments, which squeezed blood and bones of poor India in the last several decades, have become permanent drain on public purse. Is it a societal impotance, or techno-administrative incompetance of planners or it discovers the lack of integrity and sense of sincerity to our great departed leader Pt. Nehru who watches our failures from the greenary of *Shantivan* even today.

Alasdair MacBean of Trade Policy Research Centre, London (1976) very aptly observed, while writing on 'Myths and Realities in Development' that "in the third world" the enthusiasm for indiscriminate investment was supported by the industrialisation fetish. There were excellent reasons why many developing countries should establish, fairly early in their course of development, certain types of processing or manufacturing industries. What was damaging was the identification of development with industrialisation and a tendency in a number of countries to take the Russian example of early investment in heavy industries as the main path to rapid growth. Eager salesman from the capitalist west and communist east happily encouraged the indiscriminate construction of massive steel works and extraordinarily complex heavy electrical and industrial engineering projects. These swallowed imported capital goods without any impact on real standards of living. Few ever approached their planned levels of output, many plants spent much of their time idle for lack of demand or for lack of imported inputs."[19]

The Indian experience has been well repeated in other countries of the third world in Latin America, South Asia, Africa, Middle East and several others. The dearth of managerial experience and sincere working with responsibilities ultimately ruined these economies in hands of politicians and luxurious bureaucracy. These poor countries struggled hard to raise investment by squeezing resources out of their

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agricultural sectors which are already downtrodden, and by borrowing heavily from international sources both official and private.[20] These resources were, then, invested largely in infra-structure and industrialisation with too little attention to the choice of projects in relation to their international competitiveness or their pay off periods."[21] The economic feasibility criteria for choosing projects in the context of the developing economies should have been checked with these proposals before hand. Ian Little, Tibor Scitovsky and Maurice Scott have investigated these issues and found that many industries have already demonstrated their viability in developing countries and vigorous cost-benefit analysis have shown the potential for many more.[22] The public sector enterprizes need adequate planning and indepth studies on feasibilities and alternate scales, in propriety of situations, present and future. Our homage to Pt. Nehru lies in the dedication to his ideals and sincerity to his cause of sacrifice.

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Rural Politico-Institutional Autonomy And Leadership

G.C. Pande

The objective of this paper stretches along the borderlands of rural planning for econo-social growth and appropriate politico-institutional rearrangement in rural scene of Indian economy. Jawaharlal Nehru, M.K. Gandhi, M.N. Roy, S.N. Agrawal and several other thinkers in the past held the view that rural restructuring along the Panchayati Raj can probably assure greater public participation and operational efficiency in local level planning. Experience revealed that political and economic concentration processes are eroding the strength of village level institutions. Thinking along a reversal of this trend is gaining support recently. Need is to establish an operational linkage between local level planning and precise democratic decentralisation at the grass-root level.

Foundation Pillars of Miniature Government

'Experience' and 'feel' of freedom and virtual participation of local masses in wider process of social development and political revitalisation of democratic institutions at the bottom layers are very closely interrelated. Gandhi mobilised his political strength from rural masses as well as the ivory towers together because he was able to combine theory with practice and base his ideas on solid pragmatism. His precise grip on the rural systems was commendable. But Nehru with all his sincerity to see the villages prosperous and technologically growing could not see the potential of rural growth through Panchayats which he felt, were rudimentary for triggering a technological and modernisation oriented change. In practice, his leaning was for a more urban-based rural growth, and dreamy techno-urban-rural intermix. Triangular rural growth model enunciated by Gandhi could not practically be worked out wherein village panchayat, village school cum polytechnic and village cooperative (as input caterer, output disposer and financier) were to act as the 'foundation pillars' in institutional structure. Village was to take the shape of 'mini republic'. Rajiv Gandhi, the present Prime Minister, expressed his intense desire to try Panchayats as 'miniature democratic government' at the village level. He realises that village autonomy is

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essential for ensuring greater public participation without which local level planning is not likely to yield the cherished fruits. Singhvi Committee Report, 1986, based on Karnataka experiment of elections, found Panchayat institutions as good tool to mobilise the illiterate electorate. The young emerging leadership at the village level can be won to favour by sharing some decision-making with them. Panchayati Raj, irrespactive of its Gujarat experience, has recently been a masterly medicine in the kit of the political doctors. The architects of Indian Constitution deliberately avoided to make Panchayat elections compulsory as they did regarding assembly elections under Article 172. Ballot by bullet was the danger involved and miscreants would be able to capture power and gain professional grandeur at the cost of public good.[1] Anyway, experience along development suggests that greater public participation has to be ensured now at the grass-root level.

Democratic economic planning is not a mechanical device of attaining objectives by pushing-up buttons. It has to be realised that the entire superstructure of human action depends on; (a) willingness of the people; (b) capacity of the people; and (c) institutional and resource based fulfilment of the prerequisites. Indian experience, ever since the sobering failure in 'grow more food compaign' in 1948 till the present 'family limitation and planned parenthood compaign' has been very much common and similar in results. The theme of any movement for change lies in the mobilisation of masses. This challenge is very tough and complicated. Community development programme was intended to solicit the cooperation of the people in developmental activities with emphasis on peoples participation' in various programme rather, than entirely on agricultural production. The drafting and designing of plans in India has always been quite a 'skilled' and well thought process and the technicians have always strained in coining new phraseology and forging new strategies. As J. Lewis in his book, 'Quit Crisis in India' noted that planning failed at implementation level when the programmes failed at cross-purposes. The capitalist free enterprize economy operated under democracy fails to accomodate in the strictly disciplined economic planning frame of socialist world. The mobilisation in a socialist economy is attained by force under dictatorial regime. But when the targets of the plan are to be attained by free entrepreneurs, the communication gap between planning authority and several groups of independent producers, is a difficult link to maintain. Making millions of the free entrepreneurs who are scattered and fragmented, willing, alert and motivated for a common purpose, is possible by a magic wand. It has

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to be attained in the context of the vast illiterate and unorganised mass of producers, without an element of coercion. Successful implementation of programmes entirly depends on 'initiative', dash, drive and participation of the people. 'Why' and 'how' all the producers who are independent, be guided by an appeal of public policy. The public enthusiasm and willingness to work as per needs of the plan can emerge by:

(a) Direct communication link between the planning authority and producers at each production unit;
(b) Commitment of the producers to ensure the desired results;
(c) Mobilisation of resources and efforts to the definite direction of the national targets;
(d) Building productive capacity, infrastructure and institutional frame appropriate towards attaining the determined objectives;
(e) Winning the confidence of the people and seeking participation in demonstrated lines and breaking barriers and removing constraints on way. Motivation can persuade people to put in more efforts. Proper institutions and decentralised order of decision-making points, alone, can create the flexibilities which adjust to the situation constraints and afford the liberty of exercising the decisions at various levels. This generates an alertness and wilful cooperation with the policy.

Balwant Rai Mehta Committee[2] on plan projects undertook to detemine what new 'bodies' should be designed and established at different levels and what jurisdiction, hierarchy, composition, powers and resources may be allocated to them so as to ensure greater public participation in the committed cause of rural development. The Committee recommended, 'democratic decentralisation' for carrying out developmental programmes in rural areas. There was a very heated discussion on the suggestion and there were several critics who never appreciated the idea for its centralising character wherein the lower bodies are responsible to upper body. Decentralisation implies the responsibility of the higher body to the lower and ultimately to the people.

Organic composition of the recommended pattern was a 'linked three tier structure' in three descending order of district, block and the village level. At each tier an official set-up commensurate to its functions and resources, had been recommended. Community development Block had been treated as the administrative unit with one unified set-up. Block Development Officer was labelled as the leader of administration and monitoring at the Block level assisted by a galaxy of experts as

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Assistant Development Officers. At the district level tier, collector was to act as leader of development, assisted by sub-divisional officer (development) who would bear the supervisory control over the Block-officers. Infact, collector was expected to delegate his powers to the B.D.O. via the S.D.O. The experts drawn from various departments to work at Block level, were under technical control of concerned departmental distt. officers and under administrative and operational control of the B.D.O. and collector. The Committee observed "in the interest of effective co-ordination, the collector should invariably consult members of the team at the time of recording his annual observations of the work of the B.D.O". The Committee had examined the dimensions quite precisely in neat working and proper discharge of functions relating to rural development work and for taking necessary decisions at various levels. It wrote, "To ensure necessary co-ordination between the Panchayat Samities, Zila Parishads should be constituted consisting of the presidents of these Samities, M.L.A. and M.P. representing the area and the district level officers. The collector will be its chairman and one of his officers will act as secretary". The Zila Parishad was created to ensure effective co-ordination between Panchayat Samities in jurisdiction but the Panchayat Samities were to work for all sorts of developmental matters at the localities and also to approve the budget of village Panchayats. The village Panchayat was to act as an agency of Panchayat Samiti in executing the development schemes. The functions of village Panchayats had a dual character covering, (a) developmental functions; and (b) municipal functions in rural areas. Some of the functions were obligatory in character while others would be taken up with the consent of Panchayat Samiti. Developmental functions of village Panchayat were wide and extensive. These covered the implementation of agrarian output targets, animal husbandry, cooperation, irrigation, industrial crafts and village industries, education, health-sanitation, communication, medical and such other affairs. The municipal functions included maintenance of roads, street lights, sanitary arrangements etc. These areas of jurisdiction were bulky and did not make any financial arrangement to see them worked-out. N.R. Melkani[3] very aptly remarked, "Although the team has recommended both municipal and developmental functions, no attempt seems to have been made to clearly differentiate between the two". As a matter of fact, the functions of village Panchayat and Panchayat Samities were not demarcated in strictly defined activities so that the duplication and overlapping could be effectively avoided. The committee did not try to reorganise the existing area jurisdictions of Block inspite of the fact that it believed that

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the jurisdiction of the local body should be neither so large as to defeat the very purpose of decentralisation and local level effective planning nor so small as to militate against efficiency and economy. "Development Block offers an area large enough for functions which Panchayat cannot perform and yet small enough to attract the interest and services of the community. Thus, Block as a unit of planning was suggested without examining the requirements of optimum administration including policy making.

The administrative design proposed under the scheme of Mehta team was lacking in several counts from the angle of efficiency, logic and hierarchial patterns. S.P. Jain[4] identified the main points:

"(a) The developmental works as embracing all the functions of local government is open to question;

(b) The choice of the development block as the planning unit does not appear to have been based on scientific analysis and systematic evidence;

(c) The allocation of functions between the primary and intermediary units is ambiguous;

(d) The restriction of direct elections to the primary level only is not well calculated to evoke popular interest or to secure democratic control over local governmental activities;

(e) Constituting the highest body to include official members with collector as chairman is incompatible with democratic principles; and

(f) The structure proposed does not infact, provide internally for decentralisation but for more delegation of power".

The rural developmental programmes were to be implemented and monitored by the proposed body wherein, the struggle for power by political factions, would disrupt the theme of cooperation and participation of the people. It being a very grass-root level, seeds of rivalries and confrontation would prove highly detrimental to the mission of development. These things did not occur to the framers of the scheme. Vitiation of developmental activity with mass-cooperation by political struggle has been a hard reality to which we can ascribe the major part of failures in rural development programmes in the last 30 years. The adjustment between the bureaucracy with its wasteful pompus and luxurious habits and the local unsophisticated leadership was presumed to be so easy. The results were contrary to the expectations. No instrument of mass-convassing of programmes and information of the public regarding the planning was grafted to keep a check on the

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activities of the officials. The collectors never attended the Zila Parishad meetings and for most of the meetings subordinates were deputed. Public representatives had no control on the super-executives and Block Development officers who were the key points of developmental zeal, were enslaved by a 'diarchy' and they spent most of their time in appeasement of top bosses. Besides they kept busy in cooking the achievement of top bosses and inflating the achievement of targets. The evaluation, which is the basis for planning was not handed over to the 'peoples' committees. It would be more meaningful in the situation.

Agricultural development had been entrusted to Panchayati Raj bodies and the responsibility of paying special attention to the development of weaker sections, landless labour and small farmers had been assigned to them. The funds were limited, staff was limited and the time was limited within which the targets were to be attained but the link between state, district and Block levels was so dilatory and cumbersome, that 'time-resource' was reduced to bare minimum in practical operation. The delayed communication forced officials to cook backdated performances. There was a throny choice between priorities to national goals and local needs. The planning process was quite centralised and targets redistributed to local units disregarding the local resources, needs, situations and aspirations. The plans prepared at the top 'bureaucracy' level never conformed to the local needs and practicable limits. The arbitrary allocation of targets and planning at district level within the frame fixed by the state and state plan within the frame of centre, seems to be very 'unconventional' in decentralised planning. The village development plan, at the initial stage, should have been drawn in priority alternatives by involvement of the people and the employees of the Block. Then, these plans would be aggregated at the Block-level, sorting out the conflicting and inconsistent items. This would provide a priority alternative and annual targets. Then these would be aggregated at the Zila level wherein the inconsistencies would again be sorted out and priorities would be identified. Like-wise the upper tier plans would be formed keeping in touch with realities and felt-needs of the people. Only this pattern could assure adequate mobilisation, enthusiasm, will to achieve, discussion, participation and mass-education and practice in the process and problems of planning. The concept of 'democratic decentralisation' should mean an order where in people or their representatives get an opportunity not only for utilising the available resources and inputs but also making plans for themselves according to their capacity needs and availability of resources in a given area.

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The role of these local bodies in rural development and specially agricultural production was reviewed for appropriate legislative, organisational and administrative measures necessary for efficient working and administrative convenience. The annual meet of development commissioners (1966) came forward with some definite outline of recommendations:[5]

(a) That the formulation of production plans may be done by Panchayati Raj institutions, of course, within the constraints of finance indicated by government;
(b) The Zila Parishad may be given greater sharing in responsibilities of augmentation of agricultural output by implementing the programmes effectively;
(c) Some schemes and programmes may be handled independently by the Panchayats and these may cover schemes of horticulture, water-resource and irrigation distribution and local crop-priorities;
(d) Ensuring active participation of the dominant progressive farmers with the Panchayat Raj bodies and committees so that encouragements are given and participation and involvement is attained;
(e) Making village level workers more free from new agricultural programmes so that these are able to devote solely to attainment of agricultural production targets and channelisation of facilities to cultivators;
(f) Determining a set part of financial resources at the charge of Panchayat Raj bodies to implement local schemes.

These recommendations were implemented and made substantial gain in the efficiency and smooth functioning.

Decentralisation Experiment

Decentralisation made a head way in the growth of awareness regarding the planned programmes among those who were associated with the Panchayat Raj bodies and little more seriousness among the officials in attending the demands of 'political leadership' in power. Moru, however, found that political leadership at local level did not show much awareness and capacity to mobilise people towards promotion of production.[6] Chopra supported this angle of views and recommended a separate organisation for agricultural growth as it needs single line control and responsibility. Howfar, the implementation agency and the

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role of public representatives remains only to the stage of planning, consultation and suggesting practicability.[7] The village Panchavats, by their constitution and strength proved too poor bodies to handle very high responsibilities and particularly when these bodies were expected to follow, strictly, the path and programmes, styles and choices indicated by upper bodies and officers. They had little dicretion and understanding and officials got done whatever they liked. The enthusiasm of planning for themselves was largely missing except where the leadership was exceptionally influential, responsible, mobilising and acceptable to all people. The challenging task of agrarian innovations, diffusion, input supplies and technology delivery was a more demanding and strenuous task which could not have been successfully done by involving the illiterate chawdheries in samities where they had no positive role. In fact, the illiteracy, lack of appropriate traditions and absence of willingness of the bureaucracy to share with people were the principal barriers. P.E.O. study (1961) had clearly indicated the Panchayat Raj bodies could not come to the expectations of the people and government for lack of any experience and adequate guidance. There was little achievement in the spirit of decentralisation of planning decisions. Yet it has marked a shift from pure bureaucratic form of dictation to a mild form of involvement of people's delegates.[8] The local bodies structured under the committee report were not given adequate skill and expertise to handle monitoring of agricultural production plans which were solely in monopoly of the officials. S.P. Jain found that. had these bodies been given proper competence, the performance would have been better. The contemporary thinking showed that the introduction of the decentralisation was only formal and was inappropriate at the time when all attention should have been focused in promoting supply channels of inputs, education of farmers and technological aids to the farming community. Institution and structural changes could either have been made long before or a few years later. Mehta had also expressed similar views in 1969. Celebrated economist, K.N. Raj held the view that these institutions were directly related to production-growth where their involvement was the least. The wiser step suggested by him was that the state should, instead, experiment with planning from below (at grass-root level) by concentrating initially at the levels of hierarchial tiers of village, Block and district and thereby taking full advantage of the existing institutional structure.[9] Inspite of the shortcomings it was widely felt that wherever the Panchayats could grip the resources powers and the officials, the agricultural performance was far better in selected areas of Gujarat, Tamilnadu, Madhya Pradesh, U.P. and Andhra

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Pradesh. Personality impact of the leaders was important in mobilising the workers and public together. Jain(1977) held that, "there is no doubt the agricultural research and concerned department had a crucial role in promoting agricultural output yet in the process of dissemination of information, adoption of new techniques and mobilisation of the farmers, the Panchayat Raj bodies had also an important role to play. "It may, however, be concluded that in practice, while source of the major functions such as availability of long and short term credit, the development of communication and transport facilities and other services are generally, dealt with at state level, smaller functions, such as supply of seeds, distribution of fertilizers, insecticided and improved implements are taken up by agricultural departments. The Panchayat Raj bodies, on the other hand, make their contribution in arranging for their proper and timely distribution to the villagers. "In doing so, these institutions have provided a well built administrative mechanism for different processes which are essential for agricultural development."

'Rural development' could not be viewed in totality in the past. The planners confused it with agricultural, tribal, employment-related issues and also with social backwardness and built 'piece-meal' approaches to it. It technically covers overall improvement in quality of people, their living conditions and congenial atmosphere of life, economically, socially and ecologically. It embraces industrial development resource use, attainment of optimum yields by raising productivity through efficiencies and technical change. It also covers ensuring adequate social justice and improved health, sanitation and education with infra-structure of rapid future growth including institutional and structural changes which allow free and fair participation of masses in the main stream of national life. Crying for agriculture and neglecting other wings of rural development is a narrow sectoral approach which would not improve the quality and texture of rural life. In Gujarat the Panchayat Raj institutions were given relatively a better treatment and a genuine devolution of functions and resources had been attempted where these were able to contribute to growth. Shahi explained these experiences at length and suggested the need of sincerity of 'cause' in decentralisation.

The Village-Elite And Development Process

Generally, the term, elite is used of any body of people who act in concert, whether or not knowingly, to maintain a shared position of social and/or political privilege. It is representative term of 'status holders.' It denotes persons, group of persons, class, or a type, who by

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virtue of their all pervasive influence and styled drive, initiative, and dash, capture dominance. In the Indian context, democracy is a new value so also the development. Commitment to these values can be strengthened with the support of men of authority, influence and social power. Transition from inegalitarian, monopolistic, isolated and secluded and closed system to egalitarian, competitive, integrated and open society requires the support of elite at all levels. Performance in rural development shall depend on the roles of elite in bringing the change in the desired line and quantum.

'Position' of the elite is a 'location of influence' in any social system and the 'roles' of the class, who matter, are units of the social system. In a heterogeneous society these units are like monopolistic firms of influence and predominance. There may occur role conflicts at the border lands of influence line. Since the 'roles' are more or less prescribed actions, that happens in a drama, these are performed by the status which is held by persons. If the persons die, retire, resign, these roles do exist and are handled by other persons who join the function. Several experts[10] like Neal Gros, Biddle, Nadel and Roger Brown have defined the terminology of role analysis which is very helpful in understanding as to how the influence lines can best serve as the vehicles of bringing about a change specially in the context of social change and rural development. Simpas narrating the Philippine experience of the roles of elites in rural development found that, "A localised system is more informal in its relationship among members, thus, making the identification of power figures more difficult. Since a local system's goals, generally embrace local ways of life they are more diffuse. It also provides generalised norms by which to evaluate relationships with other systems. To implement a programme at local system levels the national government utilizes local technical agency personnel, organises councils with specific responsibilities. To the extent these local system individuals or groups possess certain powers and decide to exercise these, they may influence the programme of the national government." The roles in rural development may be: (a) administrative roles; (b) economic roles; (c) social roles; (d) political roles; and (e) civic roles.

Administrative, economic and civic roles are predominant in rural development and the success of extension activity has its foundations on the desired discharge of roles. In the context of the democratic decentralisation in rural development, as in India, the political roles are very important. Rural development programmes operate best when programme is drawn with a view on the various roles and their interplay and co-ordination. The involvement of local elite is essential at each

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stage. "At different local levels, community problems are identified, resources are assessed, new goals are defined, programmes are set up, priorities are established, manpower needs are provided for, projects are implemented and an evaluation scheme is set up to check on progress and correct mistakes but always within the framework of national plans. By and large, the men who are involved in decisions affecting any of their particular steps are the local elite. "The 'Sarpanch', 'Panch', 'Sabhapati', Pradhan', 'Block-Pramukh', members of Block Development Committee, the officials at each level, members of Zila Parishad, and the officers of the District Agricultural and Rural Development Agency, are in a way the dominant parts of elite affecting the core and spirit of rural development. The families and kinship systems have complementary roles.

Elite have 'multiple roles' in the social system and economic planning roles are influenced by their respective roles. Situations of inter-role conflicts arise when the predominant money landers are the Block-Pramukh and have to promote credit cooperatives at the expenses of their own vested interests rooted in usury. The democratic procedures suggest the resolution of these conflicts, it is evidenced, appears in mainly three forms, as below:

(a) 'Conformity behaviour, including action decisions which are in agreement with one of the perceived opposing expectations;

(b) 'Compromise behaviour' which represents action decisions seeking reconciliation between two perceived competing expectations;

(c) 'Avoidance behaviour' where in no, action decisions are taken and things are kept lingering uncertain and unimplemented with respect to the perceived competing expectations. The social expectation from the elite to act in a desired direction emerges from the complimentary roles but in all the cases the elite need not conform to the expectations if the sanction of norms does not afford him a support. 'Least discomfort' and 'appeasement of majority' are the norms usually followed by the elite, since at local level, their own committed interest is to preserve their dominance. If a confrontation arises between elitist-preference and political party obligations, the shrewd elites shun such decisions, and allow it to linger on without expressed opposition. The pace of change depends on how many decisions received the 'conformity response' and 'compromise response' and how many of them had the fate of 'avoidance response'.

Rural development planners have to understand that structural changes are essential in rural economy and society before the developmental action can make the change to proper, structural change

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is inevitably linked to political, social and economic underpinnings of intricate nature. The government usually spearhead, change efforts willingly or unwillingly, the people who operate the change are the officials, lower level local leaders, and the dominant people who are someway associated with the decisions in local level planning bodies with public representatives. All of them should be well trained and should understand the meaning purpose and mechanism of change which is sought by public policy. This ideological commitment is a prerequisite here. Author's experiences in the context of IRDP, NREP, RLEGP, and TRYSEM programmes in hill regions of Uttar Pradesh, indicated that the purpose is defeated due to this lacunae.

Political considerations are of the pivotal importance and political elite have greater relevance in decision making. The existence of formal roles have also bred a set of 'informal roles' and the corresponding 'informal structure'. The later has become a corruption structure which legitimizes illegal and immoral activities while it also applies more powerful implict sanctions. What is still more noticeable is that a condition reinforcing the importance given to informal system-goals is the 'power' and 'authority' given to the national elite to acquire and control the resources and also to control its distribution to the local elite. This results in complete dependence of local elite on the 'grace and grants' with 'political and fiscal support' of the national elite. The elite behaviours are easily subject to manipulation by national elite. This operates at the level of the officials and party levels, members of which make the total local elites concerned with rural development. Simpas (1979) noted that at local level as well as national level the elite is characterised by a common feature of making a partnership between those who hold economic power and those who possess political influence. In several cases economic, political and social power is lodged in persons of elite who resort to replenish their resource base by legitimate means and if they fail here, they use illegitimate means. The intersts of the elite are served as mutual obligation on the excuses of various description. Rural development has suffered due to this everywhere in developing countries.

Traits of Rural Leadership Identified

Rural development action is not mechanical. It requires motivational arts. Developmental wave has to spread among the various wings and stretch across all activities including the patterns of human thinking, designing and organising activities. The entire system of innovations

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and their diffusion bears the roles of leaders in technological innovations, leaders in modernised thinking and leaders in social work and political spheres. The problem of rural leadership is slightly different from the urban leadership and also the national leadership. The urban leadership is evolved by the protection and organisation of support for common interests of groups, or sub-groups of society. These may be trade union leaders of industrial workers, consumer's unions, merchants and business-unions, occupational unions of sanitary workers, or student unions in educational centres who feed on the concept of 'common foe and single interest'.

Rural setting marks a vital difference from the urban setting where the social relations have more specificity and inter-personal relations are more or less precisely economic. The leadership phenomena in rural situations relates to more or less social inter links between groups and sub-groups. Though the land relations and socio-economic group relations run parallel in rural setting due to an obvious inter-locking between them rooted deep in traditions yet in its obvious shape, the rural leadership is a caste-leadership. It has its base on the rural sociological framework and side by side supported by its economic class-relations. Rural cultural texture and psychological intergroup placements in society have a role in constituting the nature of leadership. In feudal atmosphere, the inter-group antagonism plays a role, confrontation in interests offers the fertile land for the leadership to emerge. The general acceptance of leadership takes birth from better co-ordination arts of motivating heads. If the leadership has the experience knowledge and wider out-look, its impact on the ruralites becomes quite motivating in constructive way. The enforcement of democratic decentralisation and community development has given substantially responsible roles to the local leaders. Their quality determines the nature of the decisions exercised by them. The local situations, Panchayat, cooperative or forest Panchayat, may be successful when the quality of leadership is appropriate. The leadership is the indicator of the rotation of power and one who holds it has all pervasive influence on the rural development. Performance orientation as against the caste or tradition orientation, of the emerging leadership can go a far way in shaping grounds for rapid rural development. Mishra (1977) strongly felt that success of Panchayati Raj in India and rural upliftment has a precondition of better leadership. The leaders in the rural sector may be of formal, informal and sectoral type. The political leadership whether holding a status officially or not has the command over larger groups while sectional leaders are the functional heads like Purohits or religious heads who practically work as

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guides to public behaviour. Jain (1967) felt that wherever the non-traditional opinion guides those who have emerged in leadership and replacement of traditionally accepted heads has occured, it shows the social and economic forces, pushing the fresh talents to hold a upper hand and the other group quite democratically receding to background and the wave of transition.

Significant strides in animating a shift in rural leadership have been done in the past and the change has actually occured even in the remotest rural areas. The main features of change are as below:

(a) Women have taken up representation of the people, in a small measure so far, but the change is evidently strange inspite of subdued customary position of females, Chipko-movement in Utterakhand (U.P.) has shown that women have the capacity to struggle for genuine common cause with confidence and courage;

(b) Young mass of leaders have captured the Panchayat as well as muncipal membership in recent elections and the old have not been voted with majority;

(c) An entrepreneurial class of contractors and neo-businessmen is emerging in rural leadership while labourers and small or marginal farmers still do not have adequate representation. This new leadership has greater influence and pecuniary gain consciousness but the caste bias is considerably reduced.

(d) The democratic traditions are finding roots but only slowly. Dominance of force, alluration and terrorism based dishonesty still have significance in elections yet the transition is quite evident by the fact that traditionally powerful vested class leaders accept the defeat without pronounced vindictive attitudes against voters. In rural setting the voters in favour and against are easily identifiable as compared to there in big elections like assembly or Lok Sabha seats;

(e) Panchayat leaders, now, have greater traits showing enthusiasm towards new-ness of arrangements, willingness to prove worthiness, clarity of vision, and assertiveness. They are subdued by ring leaders of their political parties yet they could the courage to up-root the bureaucratic idleness.

(f) Once the young leaders file nominations the elderly traditional leaders shift to the strategy of taking the young leaders in confidence and becoming their guides rather than contesting with them. This serves the greater interest of ego satisfaction and face-saving device.

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(g) The upper caste-groups produce more leaders because the boys there in are enthusiastic to enter the decision-making and share power. These are educated and wealthy. They have greater vested interests for which they need contacts and pressures on administration.

(h) Lower caste groups and scheduled caste groups have alertness and willingness to capture power or at least bargain for their votes. New caste-groups are slowly entering the seats of power and leadership, though they make a separate elite group among those backward classes instead of representing their interests.

(i) Village leadership has emerged as an occupation for those who have greater leiser and these are only the big land holders, merchant and contractors etc.

Generally, the preferred merits of village leaders are still the same Lewis had enumerated three decades ago except for a little shift in the favour of young leaders who can tackle the government officials more efficiently. Oscar Lewis had suggested that those who possess wealth, good family background, charitable nature, aged educated, relatively more free from perscnal household work, humility and hospitality oriented, and those who are trustworty, are preferred for leadership in rural setting.[11] John Hit Chock long ago reported from South Indian village experience that leader has eminently three features: (a) high middle class belonging; (b) application with government; and (c) ascetic way of life.[12] But Bachebeimer does not agree to the 'asceticism' as evidenced preference. He rather suggests, that economic strength, upper caste and nominal education are adequate qualifications.[13] Still later in 1960, the preference for merits like high income level, deep contacts, with extension workers and secular oriented mind was evidenced by Pradipto Roy.[14]

Leadership is a complex phenomena in village sector. It is built upon multi-variant factors. Caste and income will continue to be significant determinants of leadership in India for several decades ahead. C.R. Bada had remarked that "village Panchayats at grass-root level are the agencies through which most of the developmental works are carried out. If the leadership is change-prone, dynamic, articulate, and forward looking, it would go a long way in ushering the desired change in the socio-economic life of rural India."[15]

Rural leadership patterns are undergoing a change in India in the sense that the new representatives have strong faith on the democratic traditions and will of the people, while feudalistic traits are not yet fully

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forgotten. Abraham had expressed strong hopes for improved rural leadership in future. The policy of the government should be to give a suitable leadership training in the collège and universities in the context of rural areas. Even at secondary levels, leadership lessons should be imparted to make still better conscious and responsible leaders in future for rural areas.[16]

Rural development involves the local level planning at village, Block and district levels. We know that the political exercise to share with the people's representatives and masses in making useful schemes of village area development needs more sophistication in terms of quality of leaders as well as in the roles they play.

District level planning of rural areas under Zila Parishad received a pragmatic support due to the fact that the initial plans made only marginal impact at the grass-root level. This was due to the lack of sharing of local representative in plans prepared at the state level. The personnel vested with the responsibility of implementation had no planning perspective administrative and financial authority nor they possessed the technical competance to draft the district or Block-level plans. Fourth Five Year Plan realised the need of micro-level planning to supplement the broader details of national Plans. This was essential to allow a participation and to make the plan pragmatically useful at the grass-root level. Special emphasis laid in minimum needs programme, as a special part of the plan necessitated the direct understanding of local problems and involvement of the people. It was all the more necessary to inter-relate, local needs, local resources and locally prepared plan schemes with the participation of local people so as to use the locally idle resources, make the schemes directly benefit-yielding and reducing the regional disparities. Guidelines for formulation of district plans had been circulated to the concerned agencies. The exercise regarding district level planning had started in Fourth Plan period. Quite a few states could arrange the district level planning process operating smoothly by Fourth Plan. Fifth plan actually marked the beginning of the process in all states with central grants to make technical skill available for this purpose. District planning machinery tends to vary in states of India. The political base at micro-level was formed by the Panchayati Raj system. This system is also not uniform in all states. Somewhere District Development Councils with ex-officio members are handling the work while in others the Zila Parishads work for planning with public representatives. These two institutions are different in character. Some of the states preferred Block level planning to district level planning. Districts do not represent the same area in all states. Generally, there are two organs of district

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planning process: (a) Advisory unit, (b) technical unit. There are different names assigned to these institutions. These are District Development Committee as in Assam, Development Boards in Gujarat, J & K., M.P., Nagaland and Orissa while District Development Council in Karnataka. Not only the nomenclatures vary but their composition and working also varies extensively in the states. Thus, a uniformity of structure and composition is essential at various levels.

Composition of Development Bodies at Local Level

The membership of the District Development Council should not vary state to state as a matter of pattern. This violates the uniformity. All Corporations, Lead bank, Cooperative Organisations Government Departments and other agencies concerning the projects in rural areas should be associated with the Development Council and role of each should be indicated before the meetings of council. Practically, the collector as chief, never comes and deputes a subordinate A.D.M(P). The meetings do not transact any business except formalities. The interest of the collector in rural development is only little because the leadership represented in the council question the sluggishness which the authority are adament to decline. The MLA and the M.P.'s do not care to come to the District Council's meetings. Involvement of the people, as believed, is not attained. The District Planning Organisation, an official executive body makes the plan and is approved by the council. The formulation is technically assigned to Asstt. Director (Statistics) of the Division. Competence in making a plan by deliberations with the people and conceptualisation at this level is seriously doubted. Thimmaiah has aptly noted, "It is observed that district planning still remains a charter of demands by local people. Even so, it is necessary to assess the opinions, popular priorities and felt-needs of the local people as revealed through the opinions of the people's representatives in the district level planning body."[17]

The district planning process is still in infancy and needs considerable improvement in sophistication. The fact remains that resource-evaluation at the local level is not done adequately which makes a wrong base for all projects. Duplication is also common when same quantified resource is taken as a base for two or more projects. For illustration, only little water is obtainable from rivulets during summer. One big irrigation scheme is drawn based on storage of this water by irrigation department. Jal Nigam prepares another large scheme of supply of piped potable water in villages based on the same rivulet

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source. Then, Fisheries Department utilizes the same water towards pond-making pisciculture. This happened in 'Naithana Drinking Water Project' of U.P. Hills (in west Almora). In actual operation there arose a clash between farmers and villagers for water supply towards irrigation and drinking purposes. Inadequate water could do none of the three and the schemes failed miserably. Maharastra, Gujarat, Karnataka, Tripura, Punjab were able to design the district planning system much better. Tripura Government had the wisdom of engaging an economist at district planning unit, a cartographer, an agronomist and fine investigators. While in state like U.P., the district planning process was neglected left to the statistics department officers. Maharastra Government exercised the intelligence of keeping 'designated Ministers' of the districts and other Ministers and Divisional Commissioners in district planning and Development Council. The other members included were: (i) M.L.A., M.P., M.L.C.; (ii) President of Zila Parishad; (iii) Mayors and presidents of Municipal Boards and Corporation (of each type); (iv) Chairman Distt. Central Coop. Bank; (v) Deligate of Regional Development Corporation; (vi) Regional Manager Lead Bank of the district; (vii) Chairman of K.V.I. Board, (viii) Superintendent Post Offices; (ix) Executive Officer, Zila Parishad; (x) Non-officials nominated by state Government, prominent citizens; and (xi) Dy. Commissioner as member secretary.

The chairman was always the non-official leaders or citizens chosen at the meeting. Collector has to work most in guidance of public representatives. This has been a very bulky body and transacts serious business and holds control over the wasteful bureaucracy. Gujarat Government has picked up 'project officer of Tribal Sub-plan' in this body. Andhra Pradesh includes only government employees (investigators and project officers) in the body.

District plan is only a 'sectional plan covering few items and having no link with rest of the sectors of the economy. This lacunae is very big which renders the planning process uncoordinated and inconsistent in character. In Uttar Pradesh, even all the schemes of included sector are not within the perview of district planning. Main areas covered under the District Planning are as follows:

a. Agriculture (with 21 schemes identified);
b. Horticulture (with 15 schemes only);
c. National rural employment project;

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d. Agricultural marketing;
e. Land and water conservation projects;
f. Animal husbandry and dairy development;
g. Fisheries schemes;
h. Community Development;
i. Rural electrification;
j. Small and village industries;
k. Village-roads;
l. Tourism development projects;
m. Primary and secondary education;
n. Adult education projects;
o. Ayurvedic hospitals and dispensaries;
p. Rural water supply.

The planning at district level covers some very important dimensions in Maharastra left-out in other states. These are:

(i) Rural housing;
(ii) Scientific storage of food grains and other scientific extension;
(iii) Local self government;
(iv) Welfare of labour & ST-SC.; and
(v) Minor irrigation.

The 'district planning pattern' round the country should bear some similarity and the composition should be prescribed. Experience in the last five years reveals that 'conceptual clarity', 'understanding of the spirit of the policy', 'plan designing methods', 'precise monitoring' and 'evaluation techniques' have been highly lacking at the local level. Too much of 'political tinkering' on the one side and 'administrative wastefulness' on the other side ruin the very super-structure of local planning.

'District Planning' is a misnomer concept. Neither it is decentralised system nor is it centralised system. It is the grafting of ungreeing species. 'Village Plan; Block Plan', 'District Plan' and then 'State Plan' altogether should make the 'National Plan'. Revitalisation of Panchayats can achieve betterment on this score.

Constraints and Variables for Local Resource Allocation

Main constraints in developmental planning for rural sector arise regarding the following:

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(i) The funds to meet the involved expenditure on projects;
(ii) Personnel for the implementation of works which is always short in the context of rural areas;
(iii) Seasonal supply of labour;
(iv) Public support in unanimous style for the projects, particularly between rival factions of the rural society;
(v) Corruption and misuse of funds and appropriation of public funds for projects leading to individual benefit of the influential or otherwise strong or nuisance-creators, disregarding the public good.

Financial allocation to each district determines its capacity to work for rural development. On what criteria, the state funds are allocated to districts and how the quantum is determined raise several issues of priorities.

Various features of districts are important variables. These may be: (i) size; (ii) remoteness; (iii) local resources; (iv) population; (v) political significance; (vi) industrial activity; (vii) production of commercial and strategic crops; (viii) minerals; (ix) forests; (x) challenging problems; (xi) composition of social groups; (xii) quality of population; (xiii) attained stage of development and potentials of development ahead on the basis of already woven infrastructure.

The allocation has a large variety of problems and complications. Infact, each decision has a political string and economic reason. The priorities are also a matter of commitments in election manifesto of the ruling party. Some of the regions attract more public investment primarily due to the virtual gain of quicker response in the form of returns in output. Overall, capital resources grow faster if this strategy is resorted by making sizeably greater investments in those districts where commercial crops, export materials, industrial output, etc. can be doubled within a shorter gestation period.[18] The social pressures, suggest that the backward areas where leass infra-structure has come up so far, must get a greater share in resources of the state so that inter-regional imbalance of development is removed.[19] Mishra analyses the problems which hinder growth of decentralisation and Panchayati Raj.[20]

The ethical and morality principle presses the decision-makers for giving preference to those districts where the scheduled castes, tribes and other lagging communities are inhabited. Such areas are given preference due to the need of integrating these segments in main stream of national life. Suresh and Molly emphasised people's participation for

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success of decentralised planning.[21] S.K.G. Sunderam suggested the creation of voluntary agencies for decentralised planning at the grass-root level.[22]

Regional predominant problems have a very crucial role in allocation of funds to the districts. The 'drought prone rural areas', 'tribal areas', 'flood affected areas', coastal areas', 'hill and remote areas', 'border areas'. 'salinity areas', 'arid zones' etc. have specific areas and need immediate attention as in case of desert areas.

Table I-Weightage Allocation for Local Planning

SL.NO.	CRITERIAN	WEIGHTAGE
1.	Population	50.0
2.	ST/SC population	5.0
3.	No. of small farmers	10.0
4.	Agricultural backwardness	5.0
5.	Backwardness in industry	5.0
6.	Backwardness in road development	5.0
7.	Electrification of villages	5.0
8.	Backwardness in hospital beds	5.0
9.	Scarcity problems in villages (Drinking water and other facilities)	5.0
10.	Special problems	5.0
	Total	**100.0**

Uttar Pradesh has taken up a ten point criteria to decide the allocation pattern for development of districts and allocating funds for district plans.

Weightage allocation is quite unreasonable and the criteria are not formed in proper way. 'Minimum needs index' and 'resource development index' should be formed and the population weight should be coordinated with these. The 'special segment' weightage should then be added to reach the final figure.

Maharastra State has adopted a much more scientific criterien consisting three major dimensions, population, backwardness and special problems. The nature of newly emerging rural leadership at the local level is more important in the determination of priorities. Mishra analysed Bihar experience to illustrate this point.[23]

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Table II-Weightage Allocation for Local Development in Maharastra

ADOPTED CRITERION		WEIGHTAGE POINTS
A.	Population criterion	60.0
	(i) Urban	5.0
	(ii) Rural special segment (ST & SC)	5.0
B.	Backwardness criterion	
	(i) agrarian	5.0
	(ii) irrigational	5.0
	(iii) communicational backwardness	5.0
	(iv) industrial lag	5.0
C.	Special problems	
	(i) drought prone areas	3.0
	(ii) coastal areas	1.5
	(iii) forest areas	1.5
D.	Undisbursed contingencies for rural calamities	4.0
	Total	**100.0**

The allocation system has been more logically consistent in Karnataka state. The weightage has been assigned in Karnataka being guided by more than a dozen indicators regarding the districts seeking the funds for rural development. Population weight has been reduced to 50 per cent as compared to 60 per cent in Maharastra. Indices of the value of agricultural output have been assigned 5 per cent weight. Industrial output value has also been counted while determining worthiness for allocation. Communication retardation in road, railway per lakh population and per square Kilometer area has been counted. The weightage allocated is only 2.5 per cent. Financial health and medical institutional facilities index per lakh population has been the criterion receiving 5 per cent weight. Special segmental problems like S.T. & S.C. population and ratio of landless proletariate have been given 2.5 per cent weight each. Power development and supply thereof denotes agrarian, industrial and domestic levels of potentiality of betterment. Per capita power consumption as well as proportion of electrified villages gets 2.5 per cent weight each in allocation of funds. The state has regional problems of scarcity affected areas and drought prone areas. Rural population of drought prone area and forest area in the district are the criteria given 2.5 per cent weight each. The local problems in the state relate to variations in labour absorption rate and labour idleness of forced nature. Unemployment, therefore, is a significant dimension included

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with 5 per cent weightage. Karnataka has given adequate importance to the positive policy making factors by adding the criteria of 'local tax effort' made by the district. This is very important and appreciable point. It has been given 5 per cent weight. Food price index can also serve as priority allocation tool.[24]

The role of Planning Commission should have been to draw proper allocation criteria from the angle of the local development in each district. While efforts have been done at state level to this effect, but it is obvious that priorities in accordance with national objectives have not been properly followed at the state level. These criteria cannot be uniformly 5 per cent for everything as seen in the case of Uttar Pradesh. Greater sophistication is needed at the state and district levels. Bargaining for a better allocation depends on the influence and argumentative capacity and not on scientific criteria. How far the funds allocated earlier were used and what returns have been made available for recycling by earlier investments, should be given a greater weightage to create a sense of responsibility to use funds for productive purposes. Unproductive projects and more spending by bureaucracy here and there does not improve the lot of the rural people. The coast-benefit measurements should be applied very strictly in this regard. It is not the asset accumulation but the output augmented by the assets which matters in the process of development. Local level planning must take up evaluation of all types of public investments in the district and their impact on local resource augmentation. Grip of the local people on 'utilisation aspect' is very relevant if the development has to be a sustained work. Development unrelated to growth has no meaning. The fashionable economics emphasizes on creation of infra-structure and amenities, requisition of assets and deployment of huge official machinery at all levels but the basic issue as to whether addition to output and public welfare is actually accruing by this, is not completely forgotten. This causes more damage than gain. Promotion of food production and land use are basic issues which Panchayat can best look after.[25] Mehta has also emphasised on this aspect.

Co-ordination of Block-Interests And Feasibility of Projects

The planning body at the district level for rural development has to coordinate the interests of various Blocks uniformly and also to see to the proper resource use in each area. The projects identified for support have to be screened with a view on a four dimensional evaluation;

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(a) Technical feasibility of the project to be seen and guaranteed by experts who should be held responsible;

(b) Economic viability dimension to be evaluated by cost.benefit and opportunity cost evaluation by economists and technical personnel. Pilot projects may be undertaken wherever possible to ensure the viability;

(c) Social desirability dimension is checked by priorities already settled at the major policy levels. Whether a project provides for the gains to priority based population segment, like tribes, landless, female labour, retired armed personnel and poverty ridden households of other groups including backward castes;

(d) Political acceptance and support criterion is useful in checking whether mass-support shall be won and as to whether it bridges the factional antagonism or promotes it; and

(e) Administrative feasibility dimension is checked regarding a project with a view to see whether the existing administrative personnel and its capacity, willingness and devotion is adequate to see the work done. If some project does agree to this criterion, there may occur huge lapses and uncontrollable leakages in funds. Adequate steps are suggested as precondition for such projects.

Deficiencies in Consistency Without Revitalisation of Panchayat Raj

The entire superstructure of local level economic planning remains deficient till the Panchayats do not possess enough powers, competence and supermacy over the executive to plan, assess and implement the schemes of development. The larger programmes like Integrated Rural Development not only require public participation and support of people's enthusiasm but also need adequate competence at scheme designing and adequate powers over the Block level functionaries. The assessment of the development work has also to be undertaken at the very base level of village itself. The extent of peoples unity and fairness expected by the national leaders from the village representatives may be lost for the obvious dearth of alertness and inter-faction village politics of caste and social groups. The interests of the vast majority of the innocent village mass may have to be looked after by the state itself inspite of the democratic decentralisation. Only way out remains in carefully studying the village situation and making adequate laws as safeguards against pitfalls.

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PART IV

THE CRUSADER FOR SCIENCE AND MODERNITY

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Nehru And Scientific Development in India

D.D. Pant

By common consent Nehru is the architect of modern India. Whatever perceptions one may have about modernity, it connotes, in the minds of many, a machine civilization, the utopia of technological age, of ever expanding progress, order, precision, perfection coupled with unlimited economic growth and material affluence. Despite an equally catastrophic scenario forecast by the conservationists, protagonists of sustainable economic theories and similar other social activist groups, it is still widely accepted that technology is the key to economic and social progress. Recent studies have shown that besides the technology proper, social technology, embodied in the individual and collective skills and efficiency of social organisations plays a far more critical role in accelerating economic development. The motivation for inner urge for efficiency may not come from skills or by application of the laws of machine to the human society. Perhaps one requires different motivation for this which, hopefully, can come through all embracing holistic education and understanding of the deeper meaning of development. High technology with efficient utilisation of resources may lead to economic growth and increase in the GNP of the nation. But does it ensure removal of poverty and destitution? Can resources be infinite to keep on sustained economic growth? Can the entropic effects of disorder in society, atmospheric pollution, increasing population and all that the Club of Rome experiments imply be stopped? The economy looks now like a living system composed of human beings and social organisation in continual interaction with one another and the surroundings. The economic growth has to be in consonance with the inner growth. Some economists redefine the concept of economic growth in terms of creating the means of fulfilling basic needs and thereby providing the material basis for the pursuit of wisely chosen noneconomic aims. The developing countries face even more complex problems. They now realise slowly but surely that the idea of catching up standards of living and ideal of modernisation may nor necessarily be identified with the creation of western life styles of consumerism, higher education, science and technology, all that. Even the ideal of preparation of maturing generation for life in that real world where disciplined and

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trained minds must deal with the difficult problems of the day requires a new twist. Science alone cannot decide what is right that is a human decision. Education should teach as how to live within the limits of our world and as a part of it. Learning for development will have to be replaced with learning as a process of becoming. Development in this framework is a process and not a finished product.

In 1938, Jawharlal Nehru was made the Chairman of the National Planning Committee by Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President. His earlier education in science at Cambridge, left of the centre leaning, bias for Westernism etc. all convinced him that industrial development with social justice will eliminate the appalling poverty of India. The problem facing the country was not Hindu-Muslim divide hut planned growth of industry, greater production, just distribution and removal of crushing poverty of the people. He eulogised India's coming in contact with the scientific and industrial west. Science was the great gift of the west and India without it was doomed to decay. However, he lamented that India is fighting against the bania civilisation of the west, yet India has to put on new garments for the old is torn and tattered. Obviously, no one in that situation would have quarreled with Nehru's ideas of leading India to prosperity through western model except perhaps Gandhi who had an uncanny insight into the problems of development. He was certainly not against science nor even against technology (his praise for Singer sewing machine in Hind Swaraj is a case in point). His objection was to the process of development with centralised, polluting and oppressive technology which besides creates unsatiable damands for consumer goods, unemployment and various other vices. Surprisingly, he wrote this even when very few criticised industry for fouling our air or water. Unfortunately, 'Hind Swaraj' has given expression to profoundly national and unique ideal of peasant socialism and has been ridiculed for being antiscientific and backward looking. But his fear of professional classes joining hands with the western fashions, exploiting the masses, today seems to have come true.

Gandhi wrote to Nehru in 1945 that for better living, all the world over, a large population will have to live in villages with basic needs fulfilled and remaining self-sufficient. That the village of his dream will contain intelligent human beings where there will be no major diseases; no one will idle or without work. Unfortunately, Nehru misread Gandhi and wrote that a village is normally speaking backward intellectually and culturally and no 'progress' can be made from backward people. For Gandhi, mukti or freedom and self-sufficiency

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were the ideals, and for Nehru it was 'progress' which was the ideal. This single word 'progress', however, connotes the straight line motion of Newtonian Physics and requires enevitably specialisation, maximisation and centralisation. It fails to take into account the fantastic diversity of real life conditions, clashes of cultures, religions and traditions. The lure of high speed of change creates social chaos and disturbs the ecological consciousness. One gets diverted from basic factors essential for human life to things of glamour, magic and power. To borrow from philosphers the moral "will" gets tainted with "will" to power. Thus the values, codes and ethics of colonial era were adopted and distorted for quick success. The party was identified with the nation, the consumerist development with economic progress, and the national interest with that of the power elite. The colonial heritage of mass poverty and mass illiteracy was denied but it remained a surface phenomenon. It is perhaps a situation about which Coomarswami writes, "one of the most remarkable features of British rule in India is that the greatest injury inflicted on Indian people has the outward appearances of blessings".

Whereas Nehru was convinced that science is the very texture[2,3] of life and that a nation's survival depends on its scientific advancement; he also knew that specialised pursuit of science makes vision narrow and one loses grip on life as a whole. A true scientist, however, is a sage unattached to life and the fruits of action ever seeking truth wheresoever this quest might lead him. According to him cultivation of scientific temper was essential for dealing with milti-dimensional problems of life. Regarding applied aspects of science industrialism, he realised the inherent dangers of big industry and the big machine yet he thought that there was no necessary conflict between the utilisation of man power and introduction of machinery on the largest scale provided the machinery was used primarily for absorbing labour and not for creating fresh unemployment. There was no conflict between the environment and industry in the Nehru era and like a true rationalist (of Newtonian era) Nehru even opined that life cut off completely from soil will not ultimately wither away. (Some years later, a well known chemist amused us saying that carbon was not essential for food material, the latter can be created out of abundant silicon of the earth.) The tremendous faith in the applied science (more commonly called technology) was generated through five year palns. Planning was science in action. So we started developing infra-structure for science and technology with great earnestness in the fond hope of fulfilling Nehru's objectives of a happy blend of growth and social justice.

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Much before the adoption of Science Policy resolution by the Lok Sabha in 1958, great strides had been taken to create facilities for future Indian science. The working of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (C.S.I.R.) was reorganised (1947) with the Prime Minister as the chairman. This showed the importance the government of India attached to the scientific development in India. The atomic energy bill was moved in the Constituent Assembly in 1948 and the Atomic Energy Commission was established for peaceful uses of atomic energy. The foundation stone of the National Institute of Sciences (now renamed I.N.S.A., Indian National Science Academy) the Indian counterpart of the British Royal Society was laid also in 1948. Numerous national laboratories and institutions with huge buildings and enormous facilities like Food Technological Research Institute, (1948), Indian Institute of Palaeobotany (1949), National Chemical Laboratory (1950), National Physical Laboratory (1950), Central Fuel Research Institute (1950), National Metallurgical Laboratory (1950), Central Building Research Institute (1951), Central Drug Research Institute (1951), Road Research Institute (1952), etc. were opened within five years of attainment of independence. Nehru personally inaugurated them and exhorted scientists to bring traditional India into the modern world and tackle problems of poverty, disease and superstition. The annual meetings of the Indian Science Congress, perhaps, the largest gathering of scientists in the world, was invariably inaugurated by him. This was indeed a tremendous effort on his part and the Prime Ministers who followed him continued to encourage science in the tradition of Nehru. The science Congress and various other agencies talked about rural development but much headway could not be made. The nation's declaration of faith in science officially came in 1958 through the scientific policy resolution tabled in Lok Sabha in 1958. Through this policy the Government of India decided the aims of their scientific policy as (I) to foster, promote and sustain the cultivation of science and scientific research in all its aspects pure, applied and educational; (II) to ensure an adequate supply, within the country, of research scientists of highest quality; (III) to encourage and initiate the training of scientists on an adequate scale to fulfill the country's needs in science education, agriculture,defence and industry; (IV) to encourage the talented men and women for full scientific activity; (V) to encourage acquisition, dissemination and creation of new knowledge in an atmosphere of academic freedom; and (VI) to secure for the people of the country the benefits that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific

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knowledge. The Government of India decided to pursue and accomplish these aims by offering good conditions of service to scientists and according them an honoured position by associating scientists with formulation of policy etc.

In view of this policy institutions went on multiplying. The defence science organisations was in existence during wartime. It was expanded with several specialised laboratories and R.D. organisations. Today it is comparable with C.S.I.R. The Indian Space Research Organisation, Electronics Council, Department of Environment, Indian Council of Medical Research besides several prestigious institutes like TFIR, Bombay, IISC Bangalore, IACS Calcutta etc, constitute the apex scientific organisations in various fields of science. The scale of spending on science and technology has increased rapidly from Rs. twenty crores in I plan (1952-56) to Rs. 3367 crores in the sixth plan (1980-85).[5] Despite the demands of food, energy, health, employment and security, so much has been done to build a self-reliant base in science and technology is indeed extraordinary. The Indian Institutes of technology (five of them excluding the B.H.U. Institute) are outcome of the Sarkar Committee Report of 1950 which emphasised the need for engineering institutions along the lines of those in the U.S.A. or Europe. I.I.T's are regarded as success stories in India for their products mostly get job in the U.S.A. The students are admitted on an all India competition basis, the teaching staff was better paid than that of the universities; the service conditions are more liberal. The students are few in number and the grants are of much higher order than in the universities. Yet like all other institutions they also suffer from managerial deficiency. As everywhere, here are also many gaps in the fields of leadership and in excellence.

An article was published in *Nature*[4] (a prestigious British science journal) in 1984, under the title, Science in India. It was rather a sketchy report as seen by some one from outside. India has sought excellence in science in the midst of poverty and has ambitious goals for science and technology self-reliance and relief of poverty. Some great things have been accomplished but much effort is frustrated. As everywhere Indian asks 'why aren't we doing better?' For several failings they still blame the colonial system. Yet if their telephone system is apalling, the blame cannot be put at the doors of former rulers. Questions like what use is CSIR, if we cannot manufacture export quality engineering goods? (our world trade today is 0.5% while before independence it was 3%). The DAE was expected to replace cowdung

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energy but has failed even to produce half of 10% of total production envisaged. Why do diseases which have vanished elsewhere still exist in India? Despite the boast of largest scientifically trained man power it has the largest number of poor people in the world. Why so many people (largest number in any one country) are illiterate, blind or beggars? Why safe drinking water is not available to a large section of population? Could there even be a fallacy in the common assumption that science is the key factor to development? These are relevant questions despite our demonstrated success in the food front. Even there our success is poorer than that of China. Shall we then change our stand and explode the myth that science and technology is a magic wand? I hope the sooner we do it, the better. We will then grasp the importance of other requirements which go hand in hand with science. That the important problems facing the country cannot be solved by package deals.

The worst sufferer in this Herculian task of scientific development was the educational system. Having failed to send our children to schools, we have launched the programme of model schools in each district; talent will be located at early age and developed through these special arrangements into human beings suited for the twenty first century. While for other children the operation Blackboard will be launched. Science is essential in schools but its teaching is a fraud. The university system is the worst hit. It is the most chaotic education system anywhere in the world. As some one put it there are now only two activities in most of the universities, one monthly distribution of salary to employees and the other declaring the examination results of the students. The acquiring of skills (leave alone creation of knowledge) which was a serious business in preindependence days has now no value. The U.G.C. has been clamouring for 180 days teaching work in a year for last twenty five years but it has not succeeded. Factors, such as political interferences of state governments, apathy of society, teachers' politics have made university education lifeless. It is in the state of what in Thermodynamics is called heat death, all chaotic motion and no work. The U.G.C. now and then comes with new fangled ideas but the university life goes on deteriorating. The scientific research is of a low quality even from national standard. Facilities are practically non-existent in most of the places and substantive research journals for libraries is a near impossible proposition. The university science is further relegated to a low position as all the grant giving agencies (except the U.G.C.) have committees which are dominated by scientists from national laboratories, atomic energy or more elite institutions. Some

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people even gibbly talk of writing off the universities in the matter of science. In this prevailing situation where training programmes of undergraduate and graduate students have been completely vitiated, high echelon research institutions also cannot make a head way. We had Ramanujam and Raman, India's greatest in Mathematics and Physics, when there were no facilities. Now the ambition of scientists is more mundane, getting high positions in government or occupying positions of power and prestige. The scientist sage image no longer exists. You have to run about for recognition, selection as fellows to the academy or award of a prize. Sometimes members of the Committee award prizes to themselves. So much so that a society called Society for Scientific Values has sprung up to fight this menace. But has it succeeded? Being a laboratory scientist does not pay. He is harrassed by numerous queries by science administrators in the government and so on. The most complimentary reamrk in the article in Nature referred to above is, "As things are, the wonder is, that so much has been achieved in such stultifying circumstances". This honour has little consolation, yet there were two sage scientists (may be frustrated ones) who visualised quite early the shape Indian science is taking. J.B.S. Haldane who had opted for Indian citizenship in preference to the British, saw how the powerful men had grabbed the opportunity to consolidate their positions. Suddenly, the vast expansion created new jobs and it was time to position friends, relations and students in proper places. This was in addition a security measure. Haldane writes about an eminent scientist who attended more than two hundred committees (including ofcourse selection committees) in a year out-side his place of work and published 50 papers. Even Newton would not have been able to achieve this feat!

One may agree with Menon[5] that a self-reliant base of science and technology was required despite the urgent demands of food, energy, health, employment and security. But the non-visible ingredients required for making this base strong and viable gave way to more superficial ways. Nehru in his later years had deplored scientists engaging themselves in administrative duties rather than in research yet the existing regimes admired go getters to silent laboratory workers. Opportunities for creating new empires were plenty and the smarter ones left no stone unturned to take advantage of the situation. Even the great Bhabha derided the potential of hydroelectricity in order to highlight the inevitability of atomic power and to build the huge establishment of atomic energy department. The knowledgeable university administrators diluted their academic standards and turned

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out M.Sc.'s in first class in great numbers so that they could take advantage of scholarships offered by CSIR and other agencies and finally get absorbed as scientists or get settled abroad. Even the much trumpeted institutes of science and technologies to quote Venkatraman[7] biographer of C.V. Raman, did no better than "processed human resources into a commodity called NRIS."

Raman, neglected by the policy makers, had stood out a critic of the unthoughtful expansion. However, so much was the thrill and excitement over the new face India was rapidly getting that no one took any notice of Raman's warning. Science was not created by spending money, purchasing equipment or hiring people. More important was the human element and a sustained effort to save excellence degenerating into mediocrity. Raman even objected to the Prime Minister's addressing the Science Congress annually. It was a sure route to sycophancy. He was cryptic and sarcastic but his message was clear. We hear it better now when the den and dust has died down. What was required was development of independent thinking and habit of hard work.

विद्या सिद्धिः सत्वे भवति महता नापकरणे ।

Accomplishment depends on inner worth and does not depend on external tools. Those who derive satisfaction with the present state of science in the country argue that days of "wax and string" science are gone. High technology is now a part of basic science. True, but technology is available to science long after the fundamental work has been done in the laboratories. The gap goes on widening and there appears to be no way out.

In his Azad memorial lecture (1959), Nehru had noted that the efforts of rapid technological development on young people was development of a tendency to criminality, alcoholism, destructiveness, eroticism in addition to a cynical and negative attitude to life and work. This is perverse of what we had expected in the name of scientific temper. In the later stages, Nehru had begun to realise that positive elements in India's cultural heritage were necessary for a renaissance and moral and spiritual discipline. Life cannot depend more and more on artificial devices. Earlier however, he had desired his people to see the new temples in big dams and power projects. True, India is a traditional country and due to various reasons, superstition and dogma stil have a strong grip on the masses. But scientific temper did not mean only an attack on these evils. An attitude of respect for facts and rational thinking is to be developed, but rationality is not just machine age laws. Education

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must prepare young people to be prepared for any unpleasant revelation of truth. Western science, even though amoral (?), requires character to face truth, sincerity to persue it and modesty[6] to experiment. The Oriental failure to discover the scientific method is attributed rightly or wrongly to the lack of these qualities. In our enthusiasm to change our garbs, we devalued the age old habits of simple living, conservation, religious attitude and respect for nature and did not acquire secular values either. Secularism has its own ethics, but ours' allowed prayer in school for some ethnic groups and not for others. Gandhi's God of service to the poor was replaced by more fashionable value of agnosticism. Palkhivala[8] observes that the result has been a churning out from schools and colleges "ethical illiterates and moral idiots". God's death put soulless self in the hearts of Indians and new God was at once soddy, vulgar and absurd. The death of God can be painful and a reaction can lead to fundamentalism. One may agree with Allan Bloom quoted in *Span* (June 1988) who like Voltaire urges gentlemen to send their servants out of the room before debating whether God actually exists. It is a serious matter not to be lightly handled. We have to realise that like the principle of complementary in physics true religion and true science must be complementary and not contradictory. True rationality must be deeper and not superficial.

To summarise, there has been a vast two dimensional expansion from Antarcatica to Biotechnology, and from space and missile research to micro-chips. But the third dimension of depth is shallow and largely muddy. We might have truly believed that at least poverty, illiteracy and disease will be soon removed through the path of science and technology through western models, but we strayed enormously during the course of our journey. Elements of spectacularism like Asia's biggest or for the first time in Asia took over. Probabley, these misleading slogans were necessitated by the political considerations. Now, we talk of making India strong and a power to be reckoned with in South Asia. There is no effort to strengthen our institutions though new ones are created to die before time. The Nehru—ICS nexus of early days finally has resulted in the cornering of real power between the politician and the real bureaucrats. The creative scientist like all creative and law abiding citizen feels stifled. Even the former C.S.I.R. scientists[9, 10] connected with science policy implementations openly write that there has been a failure of the role of science and technology in the development of the country. The divide between the haves and the other disadvantaged groups has accentuated. Yet the emphasis of our young Prime Minister

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on some selective front line research areas as to become world leader in these areas of science shows that we are still under the illusion of achieving greatness by such policies. So great is the charm of created illusion that we do not like to face the fact that scientific research and training in India is in a mess

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Present Issues Of Environment And Development in Particular Reference To Nehru's Plans For India

S.P. Singh

When Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru became India's first prime minister, the world was still under the spell of the peak industrial growth. Resources were, generally thought to be unlimited, and industrialization meant prosperity and "unmixed" development. Urbanization was regarded as a positive process of development, without the tints of pollution or any such undesirable effects. To convert wilderness into industrial area and concrete buildings was a step forward to development. No one was concerned with counting number of trees felled to develop an urban industrial area. Economic growth and development appeared to be quite mechanistic with predictible consequences. Use DDT and eradicate mosquito and malaria, develop nuclear technology and solve energy problem, and others like that appeared to work mechanistically.

It was only eight years after Nehru's death that the first report, "limits to growth" was published, by the Club of Rome in 1972, though some others had warned earlier about the problems associated with the infinite economic growth. For the first time in this report a "doomsday scenario" was predicted if man does not change his ways. Thus the Nehru's life-time coincided with the period of industrial boom. Only in the last few years of his life, some faint idea of problems of continued economic growth came to the notice of the people. Clearly, he was not expected to have clue to the happenings that were to follow as a consequence of environmental degradation. However, we know well that the present environmental issues are closely related to the economic and developmental issues both of the past and the present.

In this paper I analyse the relationships between the present environmental issues and the developmental strategies that were adopted during about first 15 years of the free India under the leadership of Nehru. Given the then state of knowledge, what were the mistakes that were committed but could have been avoided? Were those mistakes recorded and corrective measures taken by the later governments? What is the future scenario of the country in view of the considerations of

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economic growth and environmental degradations? This is a preliminary exercise to analyse the issues of environment and development in India in view of these questions.

Major Causes of Environmental Problems

Population growth in the developing countries, luxury consumption of resources by the developed countries and by the rich section of the society in the developing countries and generation of toxic chemicals from the man-made system are the root causes of the present environmental crisis all over the world. All the three impair the basic structure and functioning of the ecosystems, and when limits are crossed they can lead to the eventual destruction of human civilizations.

The adverse effects of these are enlarged when the developmental strategies are faulty and resources are mismanaged. For example, agriculture on a degraded land would not only be far less productive than the forests, but it may also destabilize the ecosystem to such an extent that its revival becomes difficult if not impossible.

Population

The population of the country which was growing slowly from 1911 to 1951 at an average rate of 1.3 percent per year assumed an exponential growth from 1951 to 1981, showing an average growth rate of 2.4% per year (Table 1). Plague was eliminated by 1967, small pox by 1975, and with the successful implementation of National Malarial Eradication Programme started in 1958, the annual incidence of malaria was drastically reduced from 75 million at the time of independence to about 0.1 million in 1965 (though it has increased again) (Annonymous 1988). As a result of these, the death rate came down from 27.4 per thousand in 1951 to 11.7 per thousand in 1984 and the life expectancy increased from 32 years during 1941-51 to over 55 years in 1982 (Anonymous 1988). During most of their life-times the first leaders of free India had seen famine, disease and death. It seems that the eradication of these dreadful diseases monopolised their approach and control on birth rate could not become an important issue. Therefore, the birth-rate declined only to 35 per 1,000 in 1976, compared to 47.2 per 1,000 in 1971.

Though the family planning was adopted as an official programme right from the beginning in 1952 with the launching of the first five year

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Table 1. *Population size and rate of growth in India from 1911 to 1981.*

YEAR	POPULATION SIZE (MILLION)	DECADAL RATE OF GROWTH (PER CENT)
1911	252	—
1921	251	–
1931	279	11.0
1941	319	14.2
1951	361	13.2
1961	439	21.5
1971	548	24.8
1981	685	25.0

plan, a full--fledged department of family planning was created at the centre only in 1966, two years after Nehru's death. By that time population of many European countries, like East Germany, West Germany, Luxemberg and Australia had almost stabilized. Our neighbour China had shown definite signs of decline in birth rate. Perhaps, it was around this time we started to lose the race of development with China. Though more populous country than India, through discipline and better awareness of advantages of controlling population, China has almost attained the population stabilization and health improvement level of developed countries. Consistent with this difference in demographic trend we find the difference in human environment and health in the two countries. While China has become a major force in games and sports, India has been pushed back to the bottom in the list of countries. The linkagesof population are not only with the biotic and abiotic environment of a country but also with the socio-cultural environment in which developmental programmes are set (Anonymous 1987). In India about one million new T.B. patients are discovered each year, as many as 9 million people are blind, 45 million are suffering from visual impairment and 4 million have leprosy. In spite of all efforts, the illiterates account for about two-third of the population. Responses to developmental programmes of a population, such as this would be far less-encouraging than of a disease-free and literate population.

Interestingly, the subsequent governments including the present one, failed to reverse the demographic trend of India. Because of the emergency-years our family planning programmes have been pushed back by a decade or so. Since then, no political party including the ruling one has even seriously referred to the problems of continuously growing

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population in India. The future of India is being destroyed by its sick political environment, in which ability to gather votes by any means is a predominant feature. The deep faith of the people in him and the fact that he came in the power when the euphoria of the freedom was at peak gave unlimited freedom to Nehru to take up far more severe measures to control populations than the leaders who followed him.

Luxury Consumption of Resources by a Small Section of the Society

The ecological demand of the people is equal to population multiplied by per capita consumption of resources. Though in both second and third plans establishment of a socialistic pattern of society and reduction of disparties in income and wealth were emphasized, the trend of increasing gap between rich and poor was set right from the beginning. The block development officers (B.D.O.) were given jeep to meet the people and to improve their condition in villages. In contrast to China's capital where bicyles continue to be prominent on roads, in Delhi they were largely replaced by automobiles. This is to indicate that a section of society developed in India whose resource consumption was comparable with that of an average citizen of the developed world. Today, on the one hand there are people having air-conditioners, and on the other hand women in Himalaya have to travel seven to eight miles each day to collect firewood, the only energy source required to cook food. The owners of swimming pool can be found in an area where one has to travel for hours day-after-day to collect drinking water. Now the need is being realized to find out the number of the people occupying the upper line of wealth in a country where poverty line is among the broadest in the countries of world.

Thus the natural environment of India is not only being destabilized by ever-increasing population, but also by luxurious consumption of resources by a sizeable population (about 40 million), which in number may be comparable with the population sizes of some of the small developed countries.

Natural Resource Management

Civilization cannot survive without the "free services" of ecosystems, though these services are not given monetary values in the

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classical economics. A fish has price only when it is caught from the pond and enters the market. In economics the pond has no value, though it is the ecosystem which is responsible for the production of fish. Similarly, economists do not estimate the cost of soil erosion, and concomitant loss of nutrients due to the crop cultivation. Historical evidences indicate that great civilizations have been destroyed by the impairment in the ability of natural ecosystems to produce free services (e.g., water flow regulation by forests, aid of soil biota in nutrient cycling, regulation of oxygen and carbon dioxide balance in air by natural ecosystems, etc.). For example, expansion of agriculture and consequent deforestation was the root cause of soil loss and eventual collapse of the ancient Greek civilization; the ancient city, Sumeria located between the riviers, Tigris and Euphrates were destroyed by expansion of saline land; deforestation and concomitant soil loss reduced the mighty Roman civilization and erased the Indus Civilization from the face of earth (Singh and Singh 1986).

The present land use pattern indicates a dismal situation of the Indian continent (Table 2). The Indian continent predominantly consists of agro-ecosystem and waste lands, their combined proportion being 76.8%, having only about 11% under natural system with protective values. In contrast natural ecosystems make the dominant feature of the U.S. landscape.

Table 2. *Land use in the continental India in comparison to the continental United States (based on Singh and Singh 1987).*

LANDUSE	PERCENT OF TOTAL AREA	
	U.S.	INDIA
Urban-Industrial	6.0	5.5
Agroecosystems:		
Croplands	18.0	43.6
Pastures	6.0	14.6
Total	24.0	58.2
Natural ecosystems:		
Forests	30.0	10.7
Range lands	33.0	–
Parks, wilderness	4.0	Negligible
Waste lands	–	18.6
Total	70.0	29.3
No information	0	7.0

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According to one estimate (Vohra 1985), of the 266 million ha land which is of any productive use, 175 million ha is suffering from degradation of one form or other (Table 3).

Table 3. *Land area suffering from various forms of degradation (derived from Vohra 1985).*

Area with some productivity potential	266 million ha
Total area suffering from degradation	175 million ha
Per cent area affected by erosion	85.7 million ha
by shifting cultivation	1.7 million ha
by salinity and alkalinity	4.0 million ha
by river action, etc.	5.1 million ha

As I have mentioned earlier, in Nehru's time throughout the developing world urbanization, regardless of its overall costs, was the symbol of development. Since the high yielding varieties had not arrived, the food production was largely increased by expansion of cultivated (Table 4) and irrigated areas.

Table 4. *Agricultural statistics of India (after Anonymous 1988).*

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1985
Foodgrain (production million t)	50.8	82.0	108.4	13.0	150.5
Net sown area (million ha)	11.9	–	141.2	142.6	145.0
Production ($t\ ha^{-1}$)					
Chemical fertilizer input ($kg\ ha^{-1}$)	Negligible	1.3	13.1	31.8	47.6

The proportion of land under agriculture in India is more than twice as much as in USA and the total area is twice as much as of China. But our average foodgrains production is only above 1 $t\ ha^{-1}$, one-fourth of that of China and several-fold lower than that of most of the developed countries. The one major reason for this low production is that we are growing crops on large areas, which are already degraded or are potentially unsuitable for cultivation of annual crops. There is a strong case for limiting agricultural area by diverting such unsuitable lands to forests. For example, in most areas the hill agriculture is eating away the forest resource without meaningfully meeting the people's food need (Singh and Singh 1986).

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Forests were also destroyed to meet the demands of railway sleepers, industries, constructional works, firewood, etc. (Singh and Singh 1987). The impact of rapid deforestation, both before the Independence and after that on the Himalayan forests was so severe that, they could not be revived in spite of a large forestry organisation in the country. The effects of deforestation are many: increased flood hazards (Table 5), reduction of life-spans of water reservoirs due to the rapid erosion from the deforested and cultivated sites (Table 6), extinction of

Table 5. *Flood Hazards in India in Selected years (m* = million) (Data from N. Patnaik, 1982; and S. Singh, 1982).

Year	Affected total land (m ha^{-1})	Cultivated Land (m ha^{-1})	Population Affected (million)	Cattle cost (thousand)	Value of Damage (m Rs.)
1953	5.94	0.93	2.528	57	542
1960	7.63	2.65	0.868	14	674
1970	8.45	4.85	2.224	19	2.868
1978	18.61	9.96	7.045	39	14.547
1980	11.42	5.55	5.409	59	8.300
Average of 25 years	8.3	3.7	2.46 (1240 dead)	77	2.474

Table 6. *Assumed and observed rates of accumulation of sediments in some Indian dams* (From R.K. Gupta, 1979).

DAMS		SEDIMENTATION ha, m 100Km^2/YEAR ASSUMED	OBSERVED
Himalayan:	Bhakra (Satluj)	4.29	6.14
	Ramganga	4.29	18.20
Central Indian:	Maithon (Damodar)	1.62	14.29
	Mayurakshi	3.57	16.43
South Indian:	Ghod	3.57	15
	Tungbhadra	4.29	18.20

springs in the hill, depletion of gene pool and loss of wild lives, etc. Nehru was fond of panther and forests, and streams and mountains, but could not trace the strands of interrelationships between them and developmental activities. Nehru's planners failed to develop a balance between the Bhakra the Nehru's new "mandir" and "maszids" of

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modern India and the forests which could regulate the water flow into Bhakra's dam. The cost of damage of natural resources are very high (Table 7).

Table 7. *Cost of degradation of some natural resources (data derived from Vohra, 1982).*

CAUSE	COST PER YR. (RS. MILLION)	EXPLANATION
Loss of top soil from 85 million ha cultivated area yr^{-1}	a-45,000-75,000	Cost of loss of 30-50 million t of foodgrain per yr.
	b-12,000	in terms of nutrient loss
Degradation of 90 million ha of non-agricultural land	27,000	Cost of fodder and wood that can be produced by rehabitation of the land
Flood	20,000	All alloses
Loss of agriculture area ha due to water-logging	19,500	Cost of reclaiming damaged land
Build up of surface irrigation system	7,500	

A better holistic understanding of India's special features of climate, land and the people would have helped achieving the goal of development without destruction of the ecosystems.

To summarise they are as following: (i) Tropical monsoon climate, with about three-fourth annual rainfall occurring in a short period from mid-June to mid-September, resulting in a situation of "too much of water" for three months and "too little" of that during the remaining nine months. (ii) A wide range of rainfall, from less than 10 cm in deserts occupying 30 million ha area to 1,000 cm in some pockets of the Eastern Himalaya. (iii) Rise of mountains in the north to heights enough for the formation of a belt of permanent snow cover. (iv) Out-of-proportion expansion of area under annual crops. (v) Large and rapidly growing human population with low literacy level (well below 37% during most of the years), many living below poverty line, and dispersed widely in villages. (vi) A combination of the perennial rivers in the north and seasonal ones in the south. (vii) World's most fertile and robust agricultural area in the alluvial Gangetic plains.

In order to dampen the destabilizing effects of the concentrated monsoon rainfall we needed greater forest area than the countries having more evenly distributed rainfall. We could have developed mechanisms to divert water of the northern rivers to the southern rivers during the

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period of too much water. The cost of such projects would be very high, but would prove to be reasonable when long-term future is kept in view. Management of agriculture in the tropics demanded different approach than followed in the temperate countries. But no step has been taken in this direction.

Unfortunately we have failed to take the holistic view in our planning even today, and we continue to suffer from problems of degradation of our natural resources, perhaps more severely than in the past.

The Energy Front

The credit to establish the development of nuclear science in India mainly goes to Pt. Nehru. The conviction was that a major commitment to nuclear power was essential for a long-term solution of our energy requirements. However, the view of Bhabha expressed at the first International Conference for peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in 1955, that the atomic age would close the gap between rich and poor leading to the state of equal and abundant energy for all, could not be realized because of the enormous "disorder potential" derived from using atomic energy (Wilson 1979). Even long before the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, people started realizing that the nuclear fission energy is neither safe nor economically viable. Even today, the world knows no safe method for radioactive waste disposal and where to bury the junk continues to be a problem. In many countries serious protests have been made against the installation of nuclear plants by the local populations. An earthquake or man-made mistake can wreack havoc. The result is that share of nuclear capacity of any country in total power capacity has generally not exceeded 10% (Table 8).

Table 8. *Nuclear Power Programme of a few Selected Countries* (After Raja Ramanna, 1984).

Country	No. of operating and under construction units	Total capacity of operating and under construction units (mWe)	share of nuclear capacity in total power capacity	Projected share of Nuclear Power capacity in Total power capacity
India	10	2,270	3%	10%
Japan	38	29,045	12%	27%
U.S.S.R.	84	58,672	7%	NK*
U.S.A.	130	119, 053	13%	NK
U.K.	42	12,556	10%	–

*Not known

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However, our obsession with nuclear energy continues unabated. A perusal of budget of the sixth five year plan indicates that within the total research and development budget of science and technology money allocated to atomic energy was Rs. 5,335.7 million, compared with Rs. 20 million to family planning, Rs. 660 million to health and Rs. 1,420 million to research in over 100 Universities of the country. The country is to pay dearly for the deterioration that is occurring in the Universities and human health and for the increase in population. Given the situation, a 10% improvement in the success level of family planning would be more beneficial than 100% improvement in the nuclear energy production. Further, for the "non-violent" energy sources like solar energy, biogas, etc., the money allocated was 70 times lower than for the atomic energy. This Nehru-Bhabha model continues to dominate our energy scene even today. The above budget allocation pattern is not different from that of the US. We forget that our major problem is that in hills women have to travel miles and miles each day to collect firewood for cooking their food and in plains dung is burnt for the want of firewood, consequently cropfield soils are degrading rapidly for the want of organic matter. Decentralisation of power up to Panchayat level has no meaning, unless the planning policy and budgeting are modified accordingly.

Industrialization

Development of industrial infrastructure in India is largely due to the plans formulated under the leadership of Nehru. But the measures taken to minimize the environmental costs did not correspond with that, and the gap between them became enlarged in time. The result is that our urban-industrial areas became as polluted as those of the much more industrialized countries (Table 9). We did not follow "anticipate-and-prevent" approach, our approach, that too only recently has been "react-and-cure" in regard to environmental degradation resulting from industrialization. We are trying to revive the Gangatic system only after polluting it to the level that was hazardous to the people.

Industries are required to support the population but they must be placed correctly within the framework of ecosystem, which must be regarded as the unit of development. Given the level of poverty and size of population emphasis on "private cars instead of bicyles" and on "private tractors instead of public tractors" need to be discouraged. While promoting tractors in agriculture, relationship between cost of tractor and land holding size and output was not worked out. The victim of this

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Table 9. *Air quality of industrial areas of five Metropolitan Centres (based on Sundaresan 1982) (All quantities are in ug m^{-2} and are average of 1978 and 1979).*

Metropolis	Suspended particulated matter	Sulphur di-oxide	Dust fall
Bombay	227	45	14
Delhi	424	46	29
Calcutta	497	67	31
Madras	161	26	13
Hyderabad	273	28	29
Kanpur	290	20	33

is the poor villager and the air and water which are impacted by the wastes.

Conclusions

The fate of the country would largely depend upon the size at which population stabilizes. If the present trend continues another doubling of population in less than four decades of time cannot be prevented. Around the year 2030, the Indian population size would be close to 1.4 billion or about one third of the present global population, even if some improvement in the success of family planning efforts were achieved. The lack of political commitment to population control would continue in the political system, where politicians are always alert to exploit every opportunity to catch votes. The conflicts of religion, castes, economic classes, etc. and lack of education do not favour population control. It is not possible to educate the entire population given the size and means we have. Then the lack of education creates favourable conditions for the working of present day politicians as far as vote collection is concerned, but it limits the success of population control measures. Thus within the democratic system, another doubling of the population cannot be checked, unless we have altogether different politicians and scientists than the present ones. For better future, we need a leader of Nehru's sincerety, not those who devote their most of energy to formulate slogans to attract voters. We also need sincere leaders of scientific communities, who have courage to focus on real issues, not only on the issues the politicians want from them.

The present emphasis is on high technology, hoping that with the large base of scientists and technologists India may attain the status of

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developed world in shorter periods by catching technology from the top relative to the approach in which one has to progress to the top step-by-step. At present India's population is about three times as large as of the USA. Suppose we aim at achieving one-third of the per capita consumption level of the USA (perhaps, we are aiming at higher level). Clearly, in that case we would be consumng as much resources as does the USA. Americans consume 30-40% of the global resources, therefore our combined resource consumption would account for 60-80% of the world's resources. But who is going to allow us? How would we develop better access to resources than more developed countries of Europe, Canada, Australia and China? The global resources are limited. Quantities of some can, however, be increased. For example, with better technology and input we can produce more food than we produce today. Technology may enable us to have unlimited amounts of energy by developing ways to harness fusion energy. But it is not possible to significantly upgrade the nature's ability of decomposing waste matter. Then,the problems of soil erosion may restrict our ability to increase food production. Thus given the limitedness of the resources the world cannot allow the rise of another country which consumes as much resources ad does the America. Therefore, the path of the development which we follow today would lead to a situation of enlarged gaps between the rich and the poor, rapid destruction of natural resources, including soil, water and air, escalation of violence, which is already on an increase, and eventual disintegration of the civilization. This analysis reminds us what Mahatma Gandhi thought about the development of free India, and explains why he curtailed his needs to the minimal level. Only in this way we can help the poor, not by formulating slogans of "eradicate poverty", "remove privy purses", "Antyodaya", "transfer of power to people" and so on.

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PART V

THE CHAMPION OF NATIONAL UNITY

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Nehru And The Ancient Cultural Heritage Of India

M.D. Upadhyaya

Nehru was the founder and Chief Architect of modern India and his contribution to nation building was multifaceted and invaluable not only in physical or material terms but in enhancing cultural values as manifested by his deeds and also in the expression of his views as recorded in his remarkable books—"The Discovery of India", "Glimpses of World History" and "An utobiography". In his letter to Nehru about "The Discovery of India" Einstein had remarked, "it gives an understanding of the glorious intellectual and spiritual tradition of this great country." The New York Times remarked that "one is awed by the breadth of Nehru's culture." According to his own views about what culture is as mentioned in the subsequent paras Nehru can be regarded as a very cultured person who valued immensely the depth and significance of our ancient culture which has endured till today inspite of various odds.

Nehru queries and then answers: "What exactly is the culture that people talk about so much? When I was younger in years I remember reading about German "Kultur" and of the attempts of German people to spread it by conquest and other means. There was big war to spread this "Kultur" and to resist it. Every country and every individual seems to have its peculiar idea of culture. I am not competent to give you a definition of it because I have not found one. Does culture mean some inner growth in the man? of course, it must. Does it mean the way he behaves to others? Certainly it must. Does it mean the capacity to understad the other person? I suppose so. It means all that. The cultured mind, rooted in itself, should have its doors and windows open. It should have the capacity to understand the other's viewpoint fully even though it cannot always agree with it."

Nehru pondered over India's future and the future that took shape in his mind was one of intimate cooperation, politically economically and culturally between India and other countries of the world. But before the future came, there was the present and behind the present lay the long and the tangled past; so, a clear understanding of the past was inevitable. Nehru was eager and anxious to change her (India's) outlook and

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appearance and give her a garb of modernity. But doubts arose in his mind whether he should really think of bringing about such changes; for to do so, he thought whether he knew India and her past; he says"

"There was a great deal that had to be scrapped, that must be scrapped; but surely India could not have been what she undoubtedly was, and could not have continued a cultured existence for thousands of years if she had not possessed something very vital and enduring, something that was worthwhile. What was this something? What was the secret of this strength? Where did it come from?"

With a view to arrive at some answer to these questions—"What is this something?" "What was the secret of this strength?" Where did it come from?"—It is worthwhile to have a glimpse of India's cultural heritage, briefly trace its growth and see how Nehru enlightened the future generations about the abiding influence of the culture of the hoary past.

Like prehistoric Europe—Northern India experienced an Ice Age, and it was in the second interglacial period, more than 100,000 years before Christ, that man first left surviving traces in India. These are the Paleolithic pebble tools of the Soan culture, so called from the little river in the Punjab where they have been found in large numbers. In the south also there existed another stone industry which appears to have been approximately contemporary to the Soan valley culture. The Paleolithic (old stone age) man used undressed usually quartzite implements as weapons for hunting wild animals, for cutting, boring etc.These men had no fixed homes though a few might have made some sort of huts with trees and leaves. They had no idea of agriculture and lived on the flesh of animals and such fruits and vegetables as grew in the forests. They could not make pottery and did not know how to make fire. From one point of view they could be regarded as savages little removed from animal life.

The neolithic (New Stone Age) man acquired greater knowledge and skill in mastering the forces of nature and developed an aggressive attitude to his environment. The Neolithic men also had to depend on stone implements and were ignorant of any metal except gold, but they used stones other than quartzite also and made highly finished stone articles of different forms to serve various purposes. They cultivated land and grew fruits and corn. They also domesticated animals like the ox and goats. They knew the art of pottery and of producing fire by friction. They lived in caves and decorated the walls by painting scenes of hunting and dancing. They could construct boats, spin cotton and wool and weave cloth. The Neolithic culture survived long and many of the

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wilder hill tribes have only recently emerged from this stage. In India the earliest remains of settled culture are to be found in the little agricultural villages in Baluchistan and lower Sind, perhaps dating from the end of the fourth millenium B.C.

We then have the metal age. The change from stone to metal was a slow and gradual process. In northern India and some other parts of the country copper replaced stone as the ordinary material for weapons and tools. It was centuries later that iron came to be known and used as a substitute for copper. A splendid example of the flourishing copper age or Chalcolithic civilisation in the early part of third millenium B.C. is the Indus valley civilisation or the Harappan culture. A general idea can be formed about life in this civilisation from the objects unearthed during archaeological excavations at various sites including Mohenjodaro (in Sindh, Pakistan), Harappa (in Punjab, Pakistan), Lothal (in Gujrat), Chanhu-daro (in Sindh), Kalibangan (in Rajasthan) and Banwali (in Haryana). It is evident that on these sites there were large, populous and flourishing towns whose inhabitants enjoyed not only sanitary conveniences but also the luxuries and comfort of a higly developed municipal life. The art of building had also reached a high degree of perfection.

This Harappan culture was followed by the Vedic culture. The question arises whether the Indus valley culture was in anyway related to the Vedic culture of the Indo-Aryans. While the former was characterised by its urban nature, lack of use of iron, worship of Shiva and Shakti (Mother Goddess) as Chief deities and of their stone images; the latter is characterised by its rural nature, use of iron and defensive armour, aniconic nature of religion and the place of honour being given to deities like Indra, Varuna, Mitra, Surya, Agni and other supernatural beings unknown to the originators of the Indus culture. In view of these differences it seems that the Indus Valley culture is anterior to the Vedic culture and the two grew up independently.

In the early Vedic age among the many peoples who entered India about 2000 B.C., was a group of related tribes whose priests had perfected a very advanced poetic technique, which they used for the composition of hymns in praise of their Gods to be sung at sacrifices. These tribes settled mainly between the rivers Sutlej and Yamuna, an area which later beame known as *Brahmavarta.* The hymns composed by their priests in their new home were carefully handed down by word of mouth and were subsequently collected and arranged in the Vedas. Due to the brilliant feats of memory of the persons concerned through many

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generations and the extreme sanctity attached to them, the Vedic hymns have retained much of their original form. Max Muller had hesitatingly placed the beginning of the Vedic literature in the latter half of the second millinium B.C. The Vedic literature consists of the following literary compositions, the Rig Veda, Sam Veda, Yajurveda, Atharvaveda, the Brahman, the Aranyaks and Upanishads. While the Brahman are appendices to the Vedas, the Aranyaks and Upanishads are appendices to the Brahman.

The prevailing, view that the Rig Vedic people did not know the art of writing since their early literature was transmitted orally is significant in view of the fact that the earlier prehistoric people of Indus Valley had practised the art of writing. Some deduce that the Vedic people were not entirely ignorant of the art of writing because of the mention of the *ashtkarni* cow in Vedic literature. This word is interpreted as meaning a cow having the sign of the number eight on its ear.

The Aryans were a wild, turbulent people who knew few of the taboos of later Indian Society. They were addicted to inebriating drinks, of which they had two *soma* and *sura*. The Aryans loved music and played the flute, lute and harp to the accompanment of cymbals and drums. They delighted in gambling. They followed a mixed pastoral and agrarian economy in which cattle played an important part. The horse was as important as the cow. The word *Yava* was used to refer to all species of cultivated grain. There are references to ploughing, reaping and some kind of irrigation.

In the later Vedic period there was more expansion of Aryan tribes and stately cities made their appearance, Before the close of the later Vedic period the Aryans had thoroughly subdued the fertile plains watered by the Yamuna, the upper Ganges, the Rapti and the Gandak. Adventurous bands had penetrated the Vindhyan range and established powerful kingdoms in the Deccan to the north of the river Godavari. The economic and cultural life of the people became richer and more advanced in this period. Specialised trades and crafts had appeared and there are references of jewellers, gold-smiths, metal workers, basket and rope makers, weavers, dyers, professional acrobats, fortune tellers, flute players,dancers etc. Culturally, this period saw Indian life and thougt take the direction which it has followed ever since. Indian society, religion, literature and art gradually assumed something of its present shape.

It is only in the 6th century B.C. that Indian history emerges from legend and dubious tradition. The Buddhist and Jain literature of this period, although inadequate in some respects as historical documents,

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however, contain authentic reminiscences of historical events. This was a period of great intellectual and spiritual ferment. Mystics and sophists of all kinds roamed the Ganges valley, all advocating some form of mental discipline and asceticism as a means to salvation. This age produced not only philosophers and ascetics but also men of action, merchants and princes.

In the fourth century B.C. Chandragupta Maurya Chief architect of the greatest of ancient Indian empires—was aided by a very able adviser, Kautilya, who wrote a valuable book on polity known as Arthasastra. Besides this the Greek ambassador Megasthenese in Chandragupta's court at Patliputra wrote a detailed account of India in his "Indika", which became a standard text book on the subject for later classical writers. Chandragupta's grand son Ashoka—the greatest of the Mauryan emperors devoted himself to the spread of Buddha's teaching of non-violence, righteousness and goodwill and to public works for common welfare. Ashoka left behind his teachings and proclamations in the form of numerous edicts engraved on rock and metal. During his reign Buddhism spread rapidly in India and some parts of Asia. One of its interesting consequences was the growth of vegetarianism and abstention from alchoholic drinks. Animal sacrifices were forbidden. Indian universities, especially Taxila, attracted a large number of foreign students. During this 3rd century B.C. northern black polished ware, the new material culture spread in the gangetic basin, based on an intensive use of iron, plenty of punch marked coins and abundance of brick kilns.

After Ashoka, Kanishka—the best known king of the Kushan dynasty—patronised Buddhism in the 4th centuary A.D. He was instrumental in establishing the Mahayan sect of Buddhism and in the promotion of the Gandhara school of art; during this period Aswaghosa, a Buddhist scholar, patronised by Kanishka authored Buddhacharita. In this period the Indo-Hellenic school of art made an important contribution to culture.

The 4th and 5th centuary A.D. saw the "golden age" of ancient Indian culture when it reached new heights. The Gupta period is known for its secular literature. Bhasa wrote thirteen plays and Kalidasa—the "Shakespeare of India" wrote his immortal *Abhigyan Shakuntalam* and *Vikramovarisiyam;* the epics—*Raghuvamsa* and *Kumarsambehavama;* the lyrics—*Meghdootam* and *Ritusamhara*—Panini and Patanjali developed sanskrit grammer; Amarsingh compiled the *Amarkosa;* noted mathematician and astronomer Aryabhatt, is credited with the work called *Aryabhattiya;* Varahamihira wrote the *Brihatsamkita.* In the field of

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medicine susruta and charak did monumental work. The latter wrote *Charaksamhita*.

One of the remarkable developments in the sixth centuary A.D. in the religious sphere was the spread of tantricism. In the seventh centuary A.D. during his reign of forty one years Harshavardhan succeeded in partially restoring the glory of the Gupta age. Poet Banabhatt in his *Harshcharita* and chinese pilgrim Huien Tsang have given valuable description of this period.

The amazing expansion of Indian culture and art to other countries has led to some of the finest expression of this art being found outside India. Indian art is intimately associated with Indian religion and philosophy. In Indian art there is always a religious urge, a looking beyond. Beauty is conceived as subjective, not objective; it is a thing of spirit. Indians loved beauty in their art, but they sought to put some deeper significance in their work, some vision of the inner truth as they saw it. In early period the Indian art is full of naturalism which may be partially due to Chinese influence.

During Gupta period 4th to 6th century A.D. the Caves of Ajanta were dug out and frescoes painted. The Ajanta frescoes are very beautiful and they have a powerful influence on our present day artists.

In the 8th centuary A.D. mighty caves of Ellora were carved out of soild rock with the stupendous Kailash temple in the centre. The caves of Elephanta with subtle Trimurti and group of monuments at Mahaballepuram is South India are examples of magnificient art of this period.

In South India for more than 1000 years after the Maurya Empire had shrunk, great states like the Andhras, Shakas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Pallavas flourished. Later came the Chola Empire which spread right across the peninsula. Southern India was specially noted for its fine products and its trade by sea.

Repeated invasions of North India did not affect the south directly. The south became more important politically and culturally. Perhaps this was due to the South having escaped the continuous strain of fighting waves of invaders; perhaps many of the writers, artists and master builders migrated to the south. The south thus became a centre of old artistic traditions and also a stronghold of Hindu orthodoxy.

As far as the two great Indian epics are concerned Nehru writes; "Great as the Ramayana is as an epic poem and loved by the people it is really the Mahabharat that is one of the outstanding books of the world. The Mahabharat is a rich store house in which we can

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discover all manner of precious things. It is full of varied, abundant and bubbling life something farremoved from that aspect of Indian thought which emphasised ascetecism and negation." Nehru appreciates the Mahabharat's emphasis on social welfare. He quotes it as saying that "truth, self control, generosity, non-violence constancy in virtue these are the means of success, not caste or family. "About the Bhagwat Gita—which is a part of the Mahabharat—Nehru points out that "the message of Gita is not sectarian or addressed to any particular school of thought. It is universal in its approach for everyone, Brahmin or outcaste", Nehru viewed the Gita as a call to action, to meet the obligations and duties of life.

Though deeply appreciative of ancient Indian culture and its tenacity, Nehru realised that all was not well with the way in which this culture had evolved. He wrote, "Our ancient culture has been covered up with a heap of dust and sometimes filth which the long ages have accumulated. In a sense we in India are the heirs of these thousands of years. We are in direct line with the ancients who came down through the North-West mountain passes into the smiling plains of what was known as 'Brahmavarta,' 'Aryavarta,' 'Bharatvarsha' and later 'Hindustan'. We have not to be conceited to think that we are the heirs of all these ages; we are actually the heirs of both good and bad and there is a great deal of evil in our present inheritence, a great deal that has kept us down in the world and reduced our great country to poverty and made her a plaything in the hands of others".

Nehru admits that there is something unique about the continuity of a cultural tradition through five thousand years of history of invasion and upheaval, a tradition which was widespread among the masses and powerfully influenced them. Besides India, only China has had such continuity of tradition and cultural life. Nehru tried to trace the reasons for the decay in Indian cultural life. He writes that the search for the sources of India's strength and for her deterioration and decay is long and intricate. Why this should have happened so is more difficult to unravel for India was not lacking in mental alertness and technical skill in earliest times. Yet one senses a progressive deterioration through the centuries. He states "The urge to life and endeavour becomes less, the creative spirit fades away and gives place to the imitative, where triumphant and rebellious had tried to pierce the mysteries of nature and universe, the wordy commentator comes with his glosses and long explanations. Magnificent art and sculpture gives way to meticulous carving of inticate details without nobility of conception or design. The

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vigour and richness of language, powerful yet simple, are followed by highly ornate and omplex literary forms. The urge to adventure which led to vast schemes of distant colonisation and the transplantation of Indian culture in far off lands have faded away and narrow arthodox taboos have appeared. A rational spirit of enquiry, so evident in earlier times is replaced by irrationalism and a blind idolatory of the past. 'Indian life becomes a sluggish stream, living in the past, moving slowly through the accumulations of dead centuries. The heavy burden of the past crushes it and a kind of coma seizes it. It is not surprising that in this condition of mental stupor and physical weariness India should have deteriorated and remained rigid and immobile, while other parts of the world moved ahead."

While bemoaning this decline Nehru still appreciates that there has not been a complete and continuous break. He reminds us that vivid periods of rennaissance have occured, and some of them have been long and brilliant. There has always been a visible attempt to understand and adopt the new and harmonize it with the old. Thus something vital and living continues and there is a desire for synthesis between the old and the new. This has enabled our culture to absorb new ideas while retaining much of the old. In India too there was something which had the power to mould hundreds of generations without a break and which must have drawn its enduring vitality from some deep well of strength and have had the capacity to renew that vitality from age to age.

Nehru was visibly proud of the fact that we are an old race or rather an odd mixture of many races and that our racial memories go back to the dawn of history. Human history has numerous instances of old and well established civilisations fading away and vigorous new cultures coming up in their place. Indian history is unique for it reveals the saga of an enduring and tenacious culture which has retained its place in the mainstream of Indian life for thousands of years. India possesses vast stores of suppressed energy and ability which forsee a leading role for her in world affairs. Nehru quotes prof. Macdonell who in his History of sanskrit Literature tells us that "When the Greeks towards the end of the fourth century B.C. invaded the North-West the Indians had already worked out a National culture of their own, unaffected by foreign influences---No other branch of Indo-European stock has experienced an isolated evolution like this. No other country except China can trace back its language and literature, its religious beliefs and rites, its dramatic and social customs through an uninterrupted development of more than 3000 years". Nehru feels that India was not isolated, she had continuous

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and living contacts with Iranians, Greeks, Chinese and Central Asians. If her basic culture survived these cotacts there must have been something in that culture itself which gave it the dynamic strength to do so.

This three or four thousand years of cultural growth and continuity is remarkable. As Max Muller emphasised, "There is an unbroken continuity between the most modern and the most ancient phases of Hindu thought, extending over more than 3000 years". Delivering his lectures in Cambridge University in 1882 he said, "If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered over the greatest problems of life and has found solutions of some of them which will deserve the attention of even those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India." Max Muller was deeply appreciative of the ancient Indian literature. He called the Rig Veda—"the first word spoken by the Aryan man". The usual date accepted by most scholars for the vedas is 1500 B.C. The Vedas are a jumble of many things, hymns, prayers, rituals for sacrifices, magic and magnificent nature poetry. As Dr. Macnicol points out, "the early hymns of the Vedas are the beginnings of the brave adventures made so long ago and recorded here, of those who seek to discover the significance of our world and of man's life within it India here set out on a quest which she has never ceased to follow". Rabindranath Tagore had described the vedic hymns as" a poetic testament of a people's collective reaction to the wonder and awe of existence. A people of vigorous and unsophisticated imagination, awakened at the very dawn of civilisatjon to a sense of the inexhaustible mystery tnat is implicit in life. "Pandit Nehru very proudly recollects that from these dim beginnings flow out the rivers of Indian thought and philosphy, of Indian life and culture, ever widening and increasing in volume, and sometimes flooding the land with their rich deposits.

Nehru quotes Romain Rolland who also wrote in the same strain that "If there is one place on the face of the earth where all the dreams of living men have found a home from the very earliest days when man began the dream of existence, it is India".

The Upanishads, dating from about 800 B.C. take us a step further in development of Indo-Aryan thought. They are instinct with a spirit of enquiry, of mental adventure, of a passion for finding out the truth about things. The emphasis is essentially on self-realisation, on knowledge of the individual self and the absolute self both of which are said to be the same in essence. Schopenhauer remarked, "From every sentence of the Upanishads deep, original and sublime thoughts arise and the whole is

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pervaded by a high a holy and earnest spirit. The Gandhian in Nehru was struck by the Upanishad's emphasis on truth," truth wins over not falsehood, with truth is paved the road to the divine, Nehru agreed fully with C. Rajgopalachari that 'The spacious imagination, the majestic sweep of thought and the almost reckless spirit of exploration with which, urged by the compelling thirst for truth, the Upanishad teachers and pupils dig, into the "open secret" of the universe. make this most ancient of the world's holy books, still the most modern and most satisfying".

Nehru turns the pages of Indian history in an efforts to detect the point in its course from where the decay of ancient Indian culture was precipitated. In his "Discovery of India" he gives a detailed description of cultural activity during the first thousand years of the christian era. He describes it as a period of many ups and downs in India, many conflicts with invading elements and internal troubles. Yet it is a period of vigorous national life, bubbling over with energy and spreading out in all directions, Culture develops into a rich civilisation flowering out in philosophy, literature, drama, art, science and mathematics. Contacts grew with China, Iran, the Hellenic world, Central Asia and above all there is a powerful urge towards the eastern seas which led to the establishment of Indian colonies and the spread of Indian culture for beyond India's boundaries. During the middle period of this millenium, from early in the fourth to sixth century, the Gupta empire flourishes and becomes the patron of this widespread intellectual and artistic activity. It is called the Golden or classical age of India and the writings of that period which are classics in Sanskrit literature, reveal a sernity, a quiet confidence of the people in themselves and a glow of pride at being priviledged to be alive in that high noon of civilisation, and with it the urge to use their great intellectual and artistic powers to the utmost. Yet even before that golden age had come to a close, signs of weakness and decay became visible. The long drawn out conflicts with the Huns weakened India. The Huns left their impress and weakened the old ideals of Indo-Aryan races. Thus Nehru traces the beginning of the rot in ancient Indian culture to the latter half of the Gupta age. Pt. Nehru was not a mere visionary he was practical and pragmatical and was seized of the problems facing humanity in general and India in particular. He felt that moral and spiritual values are more important than the material aspects of human life. But,he felt that the way in which Indians find escape in the thought that they are spiritually superior simply because they are inferior in a material and physical sense was surprising. He

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writes, "It is an escape from facing up to the causes of one s degradation." We have to be realistic in this matter.

Nehru boldly states that it is a follyto talk of culture when human beings in the nation starve and die. Providing the minimum material necessities of human life to all our citizens must come first in our list of priorities.

To Nehru mere accumalation of learning knowledge and experience do not necessarily represent a growth in the wisdom of the human race and are no parameters to judge the cultural development of a civilisation. He agrees with a Greek poet who writes:-

"What else is wisdom?
What of man's endeavour or
God's high grace, so lovely and so great?
To stand from fear set free,
To breathe and wait,
To hold a hand uplifted over hate,
And shall not loveliness be loved forever..."

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Problems And Prospects Of National Integration In India

S.B. Misra

We are finding great deal of discussion these days on how to promote secularism and national integration and combat the virus of communalism. The attempt is loudable but hard to achieve without identifying the parameters of communalism on the one hand, the cementing bonds that constitute nationalism on the other. We have to examine if India is or can be an emotional entity. There certainly have been and still are many persons with opinion that India is a single nation with common heritage and aspirations. On the contrary Jinnah thought that hindus and muslims derive inspiration from two different historical sources,their customs religious philosophies and literatures are different. There is no derth of modern Jinnahs. If we consider India as a social, cultural, emotional and even economic continuity, there is no place for segmentation. If we think otherwise and conceive nations within the Nation, disintegration begins.

While considering the Indian Nationhood, one cannot escape background of partition and its aftermath. It might have been Rahmat Ali to coin the word PAKISTAN but the concept of two nation theory was remarkably sharpened by persons like Aga Khan, Sir Saiyad Ahemad Khan and Jinnah who perceived a Muslim Nation and a Hindu Nation within the geographic limits of what was then undivided India. Mr. Jinnah had apparently convinced the muslim population about his thesis as was evident from the election results underseparate electorate. The thesis was that the two nations could not co-exist. Sir Saiyad Ahemad Khan in fact prefered slavery of the british to One Nation Theory of the Congress. It seems he was right otherwise the hindus and muslims would not have been fighting in "India that is Bharat" even after four decades of partition. If the convention of muslim Indians organised by Shahabuddin recently is any indication there still are many people in this country who subscribe to the thesis of Mr. Jinnah. The question is how to deal with them?

The trouble is confined no more to the two nations of Quaid-E-Azam. The unrest in Punjab is indicative of diminishing trust between

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hindus and sikhs as well. A day will come when we might have to confront a Sikh Nation, a Christian Nation, a Buddhist Nation, a Jain Nation and a Parsi Nation within the geographic limits of India. If so, the number of religions will decide the number of nations and there will be as many partitions. The concept of multinations within India was never accepted by Gandhiji eventhough Nehru was forced to accept communal partition.

Divisive Factors

Religions do not and perhaps should not constitute separate nations but they certainly generate crevasses in the emotional entity of India. The religions among themselves are not homogeneous either. Eventhough the muslims of India are now relatively united and their divisions of. Ashraf, Ajlaf and Rayajil are only of historical importance. Yet the caste divides in hindus and Shia-Sunni differences in Islam become dangerous under appropriate dynamics of vested interests. The question to be examined is whether the religions with their prejudices, intolerance and mutual antipathies can co-exist. If they can, we shall have prospect of unity if not we disintegrate. The second factor causing cleavages in the Indian society is language. There is no denying that the languages of South, East and West India appear diametrically different from those of the North. They all have rich literature, grammar of their own and a large chunk of Indian population to speak in. The linguistic divides are fairly sharp and approach breaking point if coincide with the religious crevasses and supported by institutional base. Muslim communalism coupled with urdu fanaticism supported by Aligarh Muslim University produced PAKISTAN under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. Therefore, the possibility of co-existence, growth and development of Indian languages have direct bearing on the prospect of unity. The other divisive factors are economic and geographic. The economic divides are no more confined to zamidars and farmers but have spread to neo-rich and traditional poor. The economic divides become sharper in urban areas particularly if the trade is in the hands of one religious group and workers belong to the other. Similarly the geographic regions such as in case of Nagaland, Mizoram and Tripura in the east and Punjab in the west become important factors because of juxtaposition with the hostile neighbours. Thus, the three most important factors causing fissures in the Indian society are: (1) communalism (2) linguistic passions and (3) economic disparity.

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Communalism

The followers of Mr. Jinnah tried to pursue their doctrine of two-nation theory to its logical conclusion by converting the hindu population of Pakistan to Islam. In a country subscribing to the doctine of theocratic state, proselytization even by force becomes a means to achieve the goal. However, in a country where religions are allowed equal freedom, any attempt to develop one religion at the expense of the other or even the acceptance of divisions of population on the religious lines constitutes communalism. Therefore, the people who accepted the communal partition, could not take care of the consequences and simply talked of secularism are no less responsible for the spread of communalism than those who preached two-nation theory. In fact these secular leaders tried to prove their secular credentials at the expense of majority interests by appeasing minorities possibly in the hope of undoing partition. We cannot go on bolstering minorities and expect majority to sit quiet for ever. Appeasement of one community is just as communal as the suppression of the other. The line of approach as conceived by Tilak, Patel, Rajen Babu, Lalaji and Rajarshi Purushottam Das Tandon of the Congress Party would have finished communalism for ever at least in the residual India. Even befor partition it would have softened the tone of Jinnah, Suhrawardy, Liaquat Ali and their followers. There would not have been 'deliverence day' or the 'day of direct action' or even the vivisection of our Motherland. Bloodshed would have been much less that there was after partition. That was not to be.

Even if one is not capable of adopting the tough line of Patel, one can at least be impartial. Undue interference in a particular religion and not touching the rest is invitation to communalism. The undue zeal about 'Hindu Code Bill' inspite of strong opposition by devout hindus including the then President of India and simultaneously not bringing a 'Muslim Code Bill' and a 'Christian Code Bill' can be construed as the lack of will for uniform treatment and fairness. If a non communal approach was really to be adopted by the so called secularists in the early fifties, an 'Indian Code Bill instead of 'Hindu Code Bill' and 'Indian Property Act' instead of 'Hindu Property Act' and an 'Indian Marriage Act' instead of 'Hindu Marriage Act' and so on were desirable. More desirable than all this was to curb the fissiparous tendencies of prepartition days and start afresh. In this, our leaders failed miserably on the religious as well as linguistic front. Secular socialists like Ashok

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Mehta, Jai Prakash Narain, Lohia, Kriplani and many others got disillusioned and deserted Nehru who in turn took help of the Muslim League to oust the first communist Government in Kerala in 1957. It is hard to believe if the congress leaders of those days found Muslim League more secular than the communists. Also, the communists in their turn embraced Muslim League with equal affection subsequently. All this gave not only respectability to the league but also emboldened pre-partition spirits. It was not the league alone that was responsible for sowing seeds of separatism in India. The christian missionaries in Nagaland played havoc in creating a state of insurgency there. Some of them were identified and asked to leave the country but the damage was already done. The christian community in general has now adjusted with the Indian mainstream but the hindu-muslim problem keeps on creeping up every now and then. The problem is psychological rather than physical.

The bulk majority of the muslim population of India desired Pakistan—their dreamland, but only those who had resources, education and interprise could move across the border. Those who wanted but could not go to Pakistan are uncomfortable and therefore could not become part of the Indian mainstream. Many of them still feel the need of the same Muslim League under the same flag and doctrine. Their attempt to disallow religious processions by the side of their places of worship, to cheer Pakistani teams not Indian, to unfurl the Pakistani flag, to feel pride in Pakistani achievements not Indian and to insist on Muslim Character of their educational institutions not Indian character demonstrates their desire to establish and assert muslim supremacy of the Moghul Period. The systematic attempts to insult hindus like celebration of Kangra Victory by Jehangir by sacrificing a cow publicly or demolishing of temples, Jajia and forcible coversions by Aurangzeb can be forgotten but similar things cannot be tolerated today. The demand for slaughter of cows is to hurt the feelings of hindus not a religious requirement for muslims. The recurrence of riots only in the muslim majority areas of Jabalpur, Aligarh, Morabadbad, Sitamarhi, Ranchi Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Delhi and Baroda and absence from the hindu majority areas indicates varying degree of religious tolerance. Quoting Govt. files, once Atal Behari Vajpayee had stated in the Parliament that 22 out of the 23 riots that year were initiated by the minorities. To this Mrs. Indira Gandhi had said 'It does not matter who throws the first stone'. I think it does. The thinking of separate identity of hindus and muslims is strong even among the secular politicians. Mr. Rajeev

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Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India during his visit to Pakistan in July 1989 stated "The Tajmahal and Ajmer Sharif on our side are parts of what you are and Nankana Saheb and Takshshila on your side are parts of what we are" does that mean the Tajmahal and Ajmar Sharif are not the parts of what we are. What is after all meant by 'we' and 'you' in this context. Hindus and muslims? or India and Pakistan.

The Punjab Problem

The sikhs demanding 'Khalistan' it seems have not learnt a lesson from the plight of Bihari Muslims in Pakistan. Some sikhs now dream of a land where they would have dignity, security and prosperity. To say that a handful of misguided people are playing in the hands of enemy is too simple an explanation of the complex problem. Sikhs have always protected hindus and hindus in their turn reciprocated during and after the communal partition of India. What then created the wall of mistrust and when? A coalition Government of Akali Dal and Jan Sangh could function smoothly under Prakash Singh Badal with no mistrust, no bickerings. Durin the period from 1977 to 1979, the congress wanted to destablise the Janata Government and encouraged a saint that became a fighter. Bhinderwale was criticised neither by Mrs. Indira Gandhi nor even the present Prime Minister. Perhaps Mrs. Gandhi did not think she would have to face the problem herself that too so early. She resorted to 'Operation Blue Star' when she took over as Prime Minister, without convincing the sikhs that there was no alternative left. Sikhs obviously felt humiliated. After the most unfortunate assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, her dead body was exhibited not only to the mourning masses but shown on television for days together. The khadi clad musclemen were chanting slogans of taking revenge of blood by blood and these slogan shouting youths were shown on T.V. This excited average hindus who resorted to violence. Inadequate protection to sikhs during that instantaneous erruption of violence and delayed action against the culprits made sikhs feel insecure for some time. Rajeev Gandhi won elections but lost sikhs, Nonpublication of the report dealing with the causes, effect and remedies has deepened suspicion regarding the culprits involved.

Communalism and RSS

To many in this country, RSS is the embodiment of hindu communalism. They are prepared to blame RSS even for the earthquakes especially if they happen to occur in the muslim majority areas. This is a negative approach. I do not mean to defend RSS but certainly assert that

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the organization must be blamed for the wrong doings and praised also for the good things they do. The critics must have seen RSS swayamsewaks working in the refugee camps just after partition, carrying dead bodies after Morvi Dam burst in Gujarat, working under the leadership of Jaiprakashji in Bihar during draught and famine there in 1965-66, helping flood affected people in U.P. and Rajasthan, rehabilitating cyclone hit people in Andhra, mobilising support for the Indian people during Indo-Pak and Indo-China wars and so on. Did a word of praise come from the critics?

As regards the attempt to strengthen hindu youths, it cannot be termed communal as they use strength to protect their fellows from communists and communalists. Any attempt to organise 85 percent population of a country, to remove untouchability and to inculcate a sense of pride in the historical past are not against the national unity. It is quite true that doors of RSS must be open for the remaining 15 percent of the population provided they agree to follow its descipline, ideology and vision. Any organization admits members on these conditions, not to wreck from within.

Communalism and Indianism

In the debate and discussion on the causes and remedies of communalism, some people advocate banning of religious ceremonies in the Govt. functions. In fact they sense hinduism in every age old tradition of India, that has nothing to do with the ways of worship. It is not clear what do they want in Govt. functions. Cutting of ribbon and flying of pigeons all the time? Well, how is cutting of ribbon superior or preferable to breaking a coconut, lighting a lamp or offering some ghee to the fire? What we often forget is that many of these and similar things constitute the way of life not religion. We cannot and perhaps should not try to import the ways of life from the west or from the Middle East for that matter. The way of life evolves and has evolved on the soil of India. India did not begin in 1947 and those who think it did, are mistaken. I do agree that we should try to adopt traditions that are common to all the communes living in India but in case such traditions are not available, we must follow the age old traditions of the land. This is Indianism not communalism. Those who had allergy to these traditions and culture of the land, opted out of India in 1947. Those who remained are expected to share the pride of our past, aspirations for the future and to be woven by the cultural thread that alone, if at all, constitute Indian nationhood, neither religion nor language. The muslims of India have to decide if they

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prefer to be "Indian muslims" or "muslim Indians". The difference is obvious. In the first case they are Indians that happen to be muslims in the second, they are muslims that happen to be Indians. We should try to learn a lesson from the bitter experience of partition before making the type of speeches being made in Delhi, Kanpur and other places. What the Bihari muslims got in Pakistan—their dreamland? Any group of people uprooted from its culture and soil cannot be comfortable long enough. The present day Jinnahs are leading the muslim community to the same goal again through new tracks.

The approach of religious 'head count' during elections by journalists, in rule-making by politicians and in the development programmes by socio-economists are communal fertilisers to the seeds of appeasement and is against Indian Nationalism. We must always keep in mind that we are all equal. Some are not more equal than others. The talk of muslim backwardness and special attention to them is simply nonsense. How can they (muslims) be backward after ruling this country for 800 years. They have not been suppressed in the past like harijans and girijans. The whole of India is backward and muslims are no more backward than others. The demand of Human Rights' Commission instead of Minority Commission and consideration of grievances of Indian population in totality is Indianism.

Language Problem

India has already been divided in the liguistic provinces and I do not intend to go into merits and demerits of the divisions. What is more relevant is the question if we can have a working arangement amongst the fourteen languages and five hundred dilects of the country. The Assamese-Bengali, Marathi-Gujrati, Hindi-English and Hindi-Urdu quarrels are very well known. The memories of linguistic riots of sixties in Tamilnadu are frightening and must not be repeated. In fact it has been very unfortunate with us in respect of National Language. We had to adopt a foreign language spoken by less than one percent of the population in India as the National Language. We could not take a bold decision of declaring one or more of the indian languages as the National Language(s). Some of the eminent persons like Gandhiji, Rajgopalachari and others were advocating in favour of Hindi at that time but that was not to be. It is also most unfortunate for India that our first Education Minister did not have knowledge either of Hindi or English. If a person with fluency in hindi was the first Education Minister, the situation would have been different. We should strive for a national

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language which is national, even if it comes to making half a dozen national languages. After all Switzerland has four and Canada two. Undue importance to urdu is simply for pleasing minorities particularly because hindi and urdu have the same grammar. The two can have the same script. It will make urdu more popular and hindi richer. As regards the relation of hindi withthe other languages, more we sanskritise hindi closer we are to other Indian languages, except of course urdu. Sanskrit is not only the language of the past but of the future aswell. It is the laguage of the computer age.

Economic Strains

The unrest in Nagaland, Tripura, Jharkhand, Telangana, Darzeeling, Mizoram, Uttaranchal and Vidarbh are aimed possibly at economic prosperity and political benefit. The problems have to be solved in the over all situation of Centre-State relation and unnecessary delay in the economic solutions might benefit the ruling party whichever is there, but would make resolution of the problem more complicated. It is true that the separation of Karachi from Bombay Presidency during pre-partition days and divisions of Maharashtra and Gujarat or Madras (Now Tamil Nadu) and Andhra Pradesh during post-indipendance time were not smooth but became inevitable. Creation of provinces in Northeast and northwest has proved economically viable. Why not others? Administrative divisions do not cause separation but delayed justice does.

The Solution

In case we have to survive as an integrated, composite nation, too much emphasis on separate identity does not make sense at all. Our elders, the founding fathers of communal partition sat in Simla and agreed to vivisect India. We should not prepare grounds for the other partition. If some injustice had been done to respective religious ommunities in the ancient times by demolishing churches, mosques and temples, that must be set right so far as possible. After all, this is what we are doing with the scheduled castes and tribes by giving reservations to them in respect of injustice done in the past by savarnas—the caste hindus. It is a symbolic compensation. The same yardstick can be applied in case of religious injustice also.

No religion should be permitted to use the places of worship for making political speeches. Inside those places, we should talk about

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GOD and the other world'. If the religious leaders desire to wed politics, they must come out of the places of worship and follow the norms of the game. We cannot follow the rules of Kabaddi while playing cricket. Also, the loudspeakers from all the places of worship must be removed. This creates not only noise pollution but also is an attempt to impose your religious sound (for those who do not understand it) on others.

If we have to co-exist with the other religions keeping "sarva dharma sambhavav" in mind, we have to show certain amount of religious tolerance. We connot afford to be touchy and panicky about every little thing. We must allow religious processions of other religious groups to pass by the side of our places of worship, as long as they do not deliberately disturb the prayers. This is essential because some religions are not 'organised religions' and Rath Yatras, processions, public preachings, kirtan parties, discourses, melas etc. (which were allowed during the Moghal and the British times as well) are the only ways of religious celebrations and expressions. Banning these will mean banning the particular religion itself. Of course, under an antireligious setup, we can ban all religious congregations either inside or outside the place of worship, confining prayers to individuals.

The rules affecting our society should be made applicable to the whole country, not to the communes on the basis of their faith. If we allow a person to have four wives and sixteen children, they become liability on the nation as a whole and not on the community concerned alone. If they remain uneducated, unemployed and ill fed, they may become prostitutes and gangsters. Ultimate looser is the nation not community alone. Above all, we should place our religion secondary to the Indian Nationhood.

The Government of India no doubt has made a sincere effort to encourage inter state and inter-religion marriages but the official encouragement alone would not suffice to break the barriers. Something more is needed on the part of society at large. We have to train our minds to think in terms of humanity rather than majority and minority, in terms of Indianism with roots in the ancient past, trunk in the medieval time and leaves and flowers today. Hope we survive as a composite nation in the real sense of the world, not as segments within the geographic limits.

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Secular Ideal And Jawaharlal Nehru

M.P. Dube

Jawaharlal Nehru emphasised secularism, humanism and inter-communal goodwill and harmony. He endeavoured to fashion a society in India which would be free from exploitation and irrational strife. The ideals Nehru strived for were socialism through planning, peace through Non-alignment, unity, secularism and democracy. Nehru regarded secularism as the basic law of Indian nationhood. It grew as an integrative process. He believed that the territorial integrity, political stability and national identity in a country like India with multi-faceted diversity can be achieved only through secularism. He was instrumental in the incorporation of the concept of secularism in the constitution of the sovereign republic of India. He gave invaluable leadership and direction to India in achieving her aims and objectives. He devoted his whole life for the obliteration of communal hatred, and of poverty and hunger. What Nehru faced was a situation that was partly contemporaneous and partly a legacy of india's hoary and immediate past. Traditionally, theocracy, divine right, moble birth and caste formed the very texture of Indian society. Again, the British system in India was based on the exploitation of the few and the 'prostitution of labour'. Demand for equal opportunities and fair conditions of living for all were a far cry during the period. Religion played a debilitating role and impeded India's development. Cleavages based on caste, community, language and religion were exploited by the Britishers to perpetuate their rule in India. There was perpetuation of 'a static economy in progress', stagnation of productive forces and emergence of a social and economic pattern neither traditional nor modern, which provided the soil for the growth of the forces of social obscurantism and anti-secularism.[1] Communal riots have been India's continuous nightmare before and after independence. The hydra-headed monster of communalism was playing havoc during the British rule and has led to the erosion of secular values after independence.

Today, the secular ethos is facing a multi-pronged challenge from communalism. Secularism has suffered a loss of appeal. Very often, communal overtones have been allowed to cloud what have been essentially a humanitarian issue. A spark is enough to ignite a communal

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flareup; people slit each other's throat. The present lack of collective will, criminalization of politics, religious obscurantism and communalism have gravely perverted the secularization process, and social and political conditions of the country appear to be breaking down into a kind of primal condition. The need to establish an intelligible meaning among political phenomenon has become acute. Thus in the light of our experiences during the preceding three decades, a fresh reappraisal of the rightness of what Nehru stood for and tried to achieve, is the need of the hour.

The Concept of Secularism

The word secular defies preciseness in conceptual framework. Social scientists are not unanimous about its meaning; some writers define it in a narrow sense while others in a broader sense. The term 'secularism' has been expanded by certain writers to include scientific humanism, naturalism, materialism, agnosticism, positivism, rationalism, utilitarianism etc.There has not emerged any universally valid model or theory of secular state, todate. We have as many varieties of secularism as there are political systems claiming to be secular in their texture. And accordingly, the term secularization is also divergently interpreted by scholars and intellectualls.

The term 'secularism' was coined and given currency by the English radical G.J. Holyoke during middle of the nineteenth century. He was an associate of Charles Bradlaugh. They took two opposite postures theistic or Holyokean and atheistic or Bradlaughian. These two brands of secularism are currently in practice in different parts of the world. Holyokean version of secularism is accommodative of religion. In it the relations of secularism to religion are mutually exclusive rather than hostile. The system of ethics developed by Holyoke sought to provide "a certain theory of life and conduct without reference to a deity or a future life, and thus proposed to fulfil a function of religion, apart from religious associations."[2] To him secularism offered a basis for morality, wholly independent of all religious belief, holding that morality was attainable by, and could be based on purely secular considerations. Bradlaugh, on the other hand, maintained an anti-religious posture. According to him, material progress was impossible so long as religion, a superstition and the stolid dogmatism of theology, manifested itself in society. His brand of secularism totally rejects religion and makes science its deity. A secular state on Holyokean model, therefore, keeps religion and the

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affairs of the state separate; it maintains equidistance from, and strict neutrality towards all religions; and religion is relegated and confined to the personal life of the individual. The guiding principle is the rule of reason in public life. A secular state on the Bradlaughian model, on the other hand, is actively hostile to religion and banishes it from its own affairs as well as from the private, personal life of its people. The Bradlaghian model i.e. secularism of the Marxian communist tradition has foud favour with the communist countries, while the Holyokean model i.e. the secularism of the liberal democratic tradition of the West has come to be adopted with numerous variations in the Western countries as well as in India.

Keeping these complexities in view, D.E. Smith has given a working definition in his commendable and perceptive study, 'India as A Secular State'. "The secular state is a state which guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religion, is not constitutionally connected to a particular religion nor does it seek either to promote or interfere with religion. The conception 'of secular state involves three distinct but interrelated sets of relationships concerning the state, religion, and the individual. The secular state views the individual as a citizen and not as a member of a particular religious group. Religion becomes entirely irrelevant in defining the terms of citizenship; its rights and duties are not affected by individual's religious beliefs".[3] However, even this definition has been held to be inadequate. "If we take the three principles which comprise professor Smith's 'working definition' of the secular state freedom of religion (individual and corporate), equality (i.e. state indifference) among relations, and separation (i.e. neither promotion nor interference) we find that they are not a harmonious set of mutually reinforcing principles by which we can determine the extent to which given political arrangements are in fact secular. Instead, they are a set of potentially incompatible principles which may conflict in concrete situations".[4] Moreover, Smith maintains that "the basic assumption must be that the secular state will have nothing to do with religious affairs. Any departure from this principle must be justified on reasonable secular grounds."

The understanding of the process of secularization bears a great significance for the analysis of secularism. Secularization is the process in which religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance. It means the replacement of the religious ideas of life by secular ideas. It has both a subjective and an objective aspect. The first

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involves the gradual disappearance of religious thought, feeling and imagery from the understanding of worldly things, so that religion either ceases to exist as an independent force, or else is confined to as abstract worship of the transcendental. As a result people experience the obligations transactions and institutions of everyday life in terms that make no reference to the Divine. The objective aspect of secularization consists in the process whereby religious offices, institutions and ceremonies are extruded from public life in education, law-making, administration and government. Thus M.N. Srinivas observes:

> **The term secularization implies that what was previously regarded as religious is now ceasing to be such, and it also implies a process of differentiation which results in the various aspects of society, economic, political, legal and moral, becoming increasingly discrete in relation to each other. The distinction between church and state and the Indian concept of a secular state, both assume the existence of differentiation.[5]**

In fact, secularization came to be an important handmaid of the entire process of modernization, of rationality and emphasis on cognition, scientific spirit, individuation and individualism, universalism and freedom from particularistic loyalty such as those of caste, kinship, region, religion, etc. rule of law, and achievement ethics constitute an essential feature of modernization and secularism[6] Thus we can say that secularisation is a process by which more and more areas of culture, polity, economy, law and society become divorced from religion, till the time when religion becomes purely private affair between each individual and his God. The full implications of the concept will become clear when its political and philosophical antecedents are briefly traced.

Political and Philosophical Antecedents

Modern origins of the concept of secularism are to be traced to the later Middle ages of Western Europe. There was no distinction between church and state in pre-christian civilization. The secular rulers were accorded a supreme religious function. In other ancient civilizations except Indian, the combination of priest and ruler seems to have been a consistent feature. A new set of relationships between church and state came into existence with the rise of Christianity. From its inception

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Christinity recognised and taught a basic duality. "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's" With the adoption of Christianity by the Roman emperor in the fourth century, and under successive Christian emperor, Christianity became established as the state religion, and the faith which had once been persecuted, then tolerated, then granted equality, finally emerged triumphant and began to persecute its rivals. However, state interfered in religious affairs of chruch. Even after Christianity had been declared the official religion, the fathers of the church such as Augustine and Pope Gelasius I continued to affirm the duality of civil and religious authority. That these two powers should be balanced within the state remained a key tenet of christian thought.

This conflict between kingship and priesthood was the most enduring and the most comprehensive. Ewart Lewis says:

> **It was essentially a question of the mutual adjustment of the authority of two sets of offices serving two sets of human purposes. It was fundamentally not a problem of state *versus* church, as modern language too glibly puts it, but of rifts within the single *respublica Christiana.* Certainly in its first emergence it is best spoken of as a conflict between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* between kingship and priesthood; and though later corporate conceptions tended to round out the *regnum* into a state, the *sacerdotium* into a church, yet medieval thought never came to conceive them as two completely separate societies, or detached them from the matrix of that one commonwealth of believers whose different purposes they differently served.** [7]

Conflicting claims were made to power by Papalists and Imperialists later on. Modifying the original idea of the two powers (swords), Papalists insisted that all authority was originally given to the church; retaining the spiritual power, the church handed down the temporal authority to be exercised by the state. But the original and ultimate title to all temporal power belonged to the church. The Imperialists insisted that both powers were handed down directly from God to church and state. No doubt, certain writers, such as Marsiglio, made pleas for the abandonment of compulsion in religion. However, these were completely ignored. Thus in Europe of Middle Ages the church claimed to exercise infallible judgement. But this claim was challenged; and in

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this challenge many forces were united: theological, scientific, and philosophical movements, and above all the political ambitions of secular rulers wishing to assert national autonomy.

In the period of Protestant Reformation the doctrine of two swords was replaced by the doctrine of the sovereign state. Luther made provocative attack on conventional theology. In France, England and Low countries demands for the theological reforms spread rapidly, and attempts to suppress them brought greater civil discord. But the principal leaders did not expound any new notion of religious liberty. They tended to regard religion as basically an aspect of state policy.

During the 17th century the doctrine of sovereignty confirmed the nation state's independence from external religious authority. It was Thomas Hobbes who provided the most original and coherent theory of the secular sovereign state in his classical work *Leviathan* (1651) "Among writing on church and state, *Leviathan,* marks an utter break with the Augustinian and medieval tradition. Not only does Hobbes refuse altogether the metaphor of the two swords, he substitutes for it the mighty leviathan the secular ruler who holds in one hand the weapon of the sovereign state and in the other pastoral crook of the national church."[8] As far as the place of organized religion within the state, was concerned, most of the writers of the period favoured an established church whose task was to provide an uniform ceremony for public occasions, and to teach not dogma or irrational or superstitious doctrine, but the use of reason itself. On the other hand there were others who saw christianity being concerned first and foremost with the individual's innerholiness,dissociated christianity from the state. John Locke hoped for a reconciliation of these extremes. He supported legal toleration for the dissenters who could not accommodate themselves within even a Latitudinarian church of England. His *Two Treatises of Government,* which were seen as the classic justification for the Glorious Revolution of 1688, became the great source of inspiration for modern liberals.

Anticlerical movement in the form of Enlightenment played a very significant role in the secularization process in Europe. Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, which succeeded the rise of modern science in the seventeenth century, opposed the material privileges and alleged corruption of the higher priesthood as established in feudal days. It was characterised by a scepticism towards traditional authority in matters of religion and politics, an openness of outlook, and a respect for reason as the guiding principle and defining property of the human condition. They thought that people can achieve greater political understanding,

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and greater social harmony by questioning the prejudices whereby they live. The philosophers of Enlightenment saw a major cause of social evil in prejudice, intolerance, superstition and attachment to custom, habit and traditional forms of association. These ideas culminated in the acts of the French Revolution (1789) which abolished priestly privileges, confiscated church properties and ended by persecuting the church. There developed the principle of popular sovereignty as legitimizing principle, which was in contradiction to the traditional basis in theocracy, divine right, noble birth or caste.

In England, Bentham constructed a liberal-reformist doctrine of the law and judicial procedure. His ideas formed the basis of philosophical radicalism and had considerable influence on the great reforms of the Victorian period. He upheld a doctrine of legal positivism and argued that rights and obligations are created by convention, and that the sole criteria to be applied in determining the merit of laws and maxims is the criteria of utility.

During the 19th century the greatest challenge to church came from *Liberalism* when the former was accused of buttressing despotic governments and enforcing unscientific thought. It was an era of rapid urbanization fostered by catapulting industrialization which helped tremendously the secularisation process. Religion was being confronted with serious intellectual problems brought on by scientific discoveries. The theme of modern liberalism has been: the absence of positive moral guidance in nature, the priority of liberty over authority, the secularization of politics, and the promotion of constitutions of government and principles of law that establish the limits of government and the rights of citizens against government. Liberalism has been very close to the scientific and non-religious spirit. it believes that man can learn to control his life and environment. The poet Henley rightly puts:

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the captain of my fate,
I am the master of my soul.

Knowledge is thought to be purely secular by liberals. Associated with liberalism is the idea that a man should both have tolerance and expect tolerance for his own beliefs and actions, provided that these do not injure the rights of others. Noted liberal Voltaire said: "Sir, I do not agree with what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say

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it." The famous liberal Political philosopher J.S. Mill who gave approval to the Holyokean principles, defended 'one very simple principle' that society might not coerce unwilling individuals except in self-defence. His works contain classic statements of liberal thought about law, liberty and rights. His thought has been widely accepted in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence as giving the basic principles upon which legal reform should proceed.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the principle of separation of church and state received wide-spread acceptance in America. Locke's works became Bible for revolutionaries. The rationalism and Enlightenment had great bearing on the course of revolution during this period. James Madiscn and Thomas Jefferson championed the cause of church and state separation; they attacked the dogmatism and fanaticism of religious groups; and they laid emphasis on freedom of conscience. The Bill of Rights (1791) was the first constitutional recognition that pluralism in religion might be positively justifiable in its own right; it asserts firmly that no law concerning 'the establishment of a religion' or prohibiting the free exercise thereof' should be made by Congress, and therby provides a working example of a secular administration presiding over a religiously plural society.[9] In the U.S. 'no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion or other matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein. Justice Black explained the 'establishment of religion' clause of the first amendment:

> **Neither a state nor the federal government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go or remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or nonattendance. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever from they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither the Federal Government nor a state can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect a "wall of separation between church and state.**[10]

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The constitutional mandate is intended to effectuate a firm commitment to a position of neutrality by state in the relationship between man and religion. The court has laid trifold requirements for legislation: That any law in that realm must have, (a) a secular legislative purpose; (b) its principal or primary effect must neither advance nor inhibit religion; and (c) it must not foster an 'excessive entanglement' with religion.

In practice, the Madison-Jeffersonian 'wall of separation' has worked successfully in the U.S.A. without being betrayed by inherent chinks. In fact, the principles of separation is based on the recognition that the ultimate foundation of a free society is the binding tie of cohesive sentiments. Such a sentiment is fostered by all those agencies of the mind and spirit which serve to gather up the traditions of a people, transmit them from generation to generation and thereby create the continuity of a treasured common life which constitutes a civilization.[11] Thus secular state has emerged as an important aspects of the liberal democratic tradition in Europe and America.

Jawaharlal Nehru's upbringing and background were secular. He received English education at his home and at Harrow and Cambridge; he was a western product in an intellectual sense during the early years of his life. During that period, he imbibed the traditions of British humanist liberalism. His father, Motilal Nehru, was western in thinking and habits. He had everlasting influence on the son. B.R. Nanda in his book, writes: "He was a product of that late-Victorian free-thinking rationalism, which was learning to dispense with divine explanations of the working of the universe and to pin its faith on the human intellect and on science to lead mankind along endless vistas of progress. This rationalism prevented Motilal from being swept off his feet by the tides of Hindu revivalism, which rose high at the turn of the century." These words are very much appropriate for Jawaharlal Nehru. He subscribed to the general philosophical ethos of liberalism, positivism, empiricism and humanitarianism of the west. The Fabianism of Shaw and the Webbs was of great interest to him. At the same time Russell's scepticism has no less influence on him. He became a free-standing intellectual. He had tremendous faith in science, reason and scholarship.

His Attitude Towards Religion

One of the functions of religion had been tc provide both a legitimizing support for the ruler and a measure of communal solidarity

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with him. But with the development of democracies, it was made irrelevant and at the same time it fomented fissiparous tendencies in multi-religious societies; at times it became a symbol of superstitions and irrational thought and action. Nehru was deadly opposed to narrowness and intolerance, credulity and superstition, emotionalism and irrationalism. He did not like rituals or ceremonies of religions which were often manifestations of the outer forms of religions and covered the 'rankest hypocrisy and selfishness'. He was dead-against what religion stood for, in its outer meaning. He wrote: "There can be no doubt that the founders of the great religions have been among the greatest and noblest men that the world has produced. But their disciples and the people who have come after them have often been far from great or good. Often in history we see that religion, which was meant to raise us and make us better and nobler, has made people behave like beasts. Instead of bringing enlightenment to them, it has often tried to keep them in the dark, instead of broadening their minds, it has frequently made them narrow-minded and intolerant of others. In the name of religion many great and fine deeds have been performed. In the name of religion also thousands and millions have been killed and every possible crime has been committed."[12]

By religion he meant the inner-most virtues of life the very essence of character, truthfulness, love and purity of mind. He criticised religions not being really spiritual; thinking in terms of some other world, had little conception of human values, social values and social justice. He remarked: "The less we talk of and worry about the next world the more good we are likely to do to our fellow countrymen and country."

He was agnostic. His faith in science took him away from the mysteries. "What the mysterious is I do not know. I do not call it God because God has come to mean much that I do not believe in. I find myself incapable of thinking of a deity or of any unknown supreme power in anthropomorphic terms, and the fact that many people think sc is continually a source of surprise to me. Any idea of a personal God seems very odd to me."[13]

Despite his over three decades of deep contact, and commitment to the Mahatma who was a devout and prophetic personality, Pt. Nehru continued to be an agnostic, what he liked about Gandhiji was his sense of service and sacrifice determination to act and non-violence. But his views towards religion seemed to him medieval and revivalist. Nehru reached his conclusions through reasoning and analysis, and felt very uncomfortable with Gandhi's reliance on his 'inner voice'.

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It was his faith in science which made him sceptical towards religious doctrine. He said: "Religion as I saw it practised, and accepted even by thinking minds, whether it was Hinduism or Islam or Buddhism or christianity did not attract me. It seemed to be closely associated with superstitious practices and dogmatic beliefs, and behind it lay a method of approach to life's problems which was certainly not that of science. There was an element of magic about it, an uncritical credulousness, a reliance on the supernatural."[14] Religion is concerned with the unknown and science with the known. Nehru hoped that science may widen its boundaries and may invade the so called invisible world and help men to understand the purpose of life in its widest sense. He hoped for the application of the scientific method to emotional and religious experiences. 'It is the scientific approach, the adventurous and yet critical temper of science, the search for truth and new knowledge, the refusal to accept anything without testing and trial, the capacity to change previous conclusions in the face of new evidence, the reliance on observed fact and not on pre-conceived theory, the hard discipline of the mind all this is necessary, not merely for the application of science but for life itself and the solution of its many problems.[15]

Nehru's Approach to Communal Problem

'Communalism is a pre-disposition (state of mind) of a person or group belonging to a particular religion (or caste/community/sect within it) arising out of a feeling that a threat real or imaginary exists to his/their faith which should be combatted by collective action of members of the religion (or caste/community/sect).

It is a fact of history that though communal problem was there even during the medieval period in India, it assumed a distinctive character during the British rule. There occured riot involving common people in 1693 in Ahemedabad. But the ruling ethos of the Mughals was non-communal and it led to the emergence of a cross communal service class. The Empire moulded an unique culture based on synthesis of Hindu and Muslim. However, despite cultural synthesis of the time, there was recognition of separate cultural and religious identities. Latter on, Muslim battles against the British spilled over into a battle against the Hindus; Wahabi Movement and Mopla Rebellion resulted into conversion and massacre of several Hindus. On the other hand, Hindu nationalism had a large content of anti-muslim bias in its literature and symbols, and in speeches and actions of some leaders.

After their foothold in India, the first target of the Britishers was the

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destruction of the muslim nobility both politically and economically. The Permanent Settlement of 1793, and the Education circulars of 1837, were instrumental in destroying the muslim aristocracy of Bengal. While the former led to whole sale eviction of muslim landlords, and the later abolished the use of Persian or Urdu in Bengal and in its place authorized the use of english or local vernacular in the work of administration.

After 1857, the heavy hand of the British fell more on the muslims of North India than on the Hindus. The British turned upon the muslims as their real enemies; they were excluded from the army and the law. They considered the muslims more aggressive and militant, possessing memories of recent rule in India, and therefore more dangerous. The muslims had also kept away from the new education and had few jobs under the government. On the other hand Hindus (upper class), generally, had no inhibitions; they learnt Persian or Urdu with proficiency under the muslim rule, and again quickly took to English language and availed job opportunities under the British rule. Thus being deprived of government jobs and reduced to their miserable condition, muslims occupied marginalized position in Indian economy; their bitterness turned against Hindus. During the late 60's of the 19th century and onwards, the government saw a new challenge to its authority in the form of new nationalism which grew in the upper-class, english-speaking intelligentsia as a result of the impact of English liberalism and industrialization. In a bid to stem the tide of nationalism, the government encouraged the muslims more to keep them away from the new nationalist platform i.e. the Congress. The British sought to create a 'muslim card' as a balance against Hindus. In this task they were helped by an outstanding personality, Sir Sayyid who attempted to buy his community's welfare in exchange for political subservience.

The Hindu revivalism was seen with contempt by the muslim communal leaders. There were series of riots during 1880's and 1896-97. During the first decade of the 20th century, there sprang up several communal organizations and their activities spurred a series of spasmodic communal clashes.

The Britishers exploited the communal feelings as a lever against the rising nationalism. They provided separate electorate to minorities. The communal representation increasingly given in the successive constitution acts from 1909 and onwards stimulated the further growth of communalism. During 20's there occured wild orgy of murder and mayhem in a series of communal riots engulfing most of the communally sensitive places. These riots were ominous portent of dangerous

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degeneration of moral values in India. Merely triffling issues caused the riots: music played before a mosque; or a stone thrown on a Hindu procession; desecration of a temple or a graveyard; or simply the right of way and of course the deliberate preaching of distrust and fear. Nationalist leaders were very much anguished by these happenings. They established dichotomy between communalism and nationalism. 'Gandhiji had laid down his formula for solving the communal problem. According to him, it could only be solved by goodwill and generosity of the majority group, and so he was prepared to agree to everything that the muslims might demand. He wanted to win them over not to bargain with them.'[16] Nehru's main concern at the time was how to deal with the growing communal animosity. According to him, religious toleration safeguarding of culture and languages were the best answer. He regarded it as a wasteful diversion from the main compaign against the British. He saw a close connection between British rule and communalism. And once the British were pushed out, communalism would loose the ground beneath it. After his visit to Europe in 1927, Nehru found himself in broad agreement with the way the Russians had tackled the problem of religion. The revolution in Russia was not only rationalist and secular but militantly scientific and anti-religious. A primitive, illiterate and disease-ridden agrarian economy had succeeded in transforming itself in a mere generation, into the second most powerful state in the world. Nehru developed a passion for socialism. He was touched with the seething poverty of the teeming millions in India. S. Gopal says: "He, therefore, in accordance with his favourite strategy of indirect approach, ignored the communal problem and concentrated his energies on the national movement against foreign rule and on the need to give that movement an economic slant."[17] In fact, Nehru understood the problem and its ramifications in a true spirit. Secularization is a long-term process and is closely related to industrialization and mass education (secular in nature). These needed long-term planning which was not possible under a foreign rule. He believed that communalism would vanish with economic and social development.

In 1930, Nehru reasserted the commitment of the Congress to religious, cultural, linguistic and educational freedom, wanted Congress to remain impartial on communal issues. To allay the fears of the minorities and to create in them a sense of security, in 1931, in the Resolution on Fundamental Rights at the Karachi Congress, he incorporated clauses providing that every citizen should enjoy freedom

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of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise any religion, subject to public order and morality, that all citizens would enjoy equality before law, irrespective of religion, creed, caste or sex. It committed the Congress to the principle that the state shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions. Communalism to Nehru, was political and social reaction. He said that 'political reaction' has stalked the land under cover of communalism and taken advantage of the fear of each community of the other. It is the fear complex that we have to deal with in these communal problems. Honest communalism is fear; false communalism is political reaction. 'He thought that the muslim comunal organizations did not represent any large group of muslims in India except in the sense that they exploited the prevailing communal sentiments. He said that the Muslim League's communal attitude had been often difficult and unreasonable in the past, but no less unreasonable was the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha whose outlook was more revivalist than progressive. So, he was more concerned with Hindu than with Muslim communalism. The British policy had been to encourage and emphasize differences and to give importance to communal organizations as against the Congress. Nehru wrote: "Whether socialism or communalism is the right answer or some other, one thing is certain that the answer must be in terms of economics and not merely politics. So long as the fullest economic freedom does not come to us, there can be no freedom whatever the political structure may be. That is the reality today; all else is myth and delusion, and there is no greater myth than the communal myth the so-called communal problem will fade into the background for the masses will be far more interested in filling their hungry stomachs than in questions of percentages. The lead will go to the masses and the masses, when free, though they may sometimes err, think in terms of reality and have no use for myths." He was sure that the communal problem would cease to exist when it was put to the hard test of real mass opinion. Thus he refused to acknowledge the political significance of religious differences in the struggle against colonialism. He continued to play down the communal issue, held up independence and better economic conditions as the first priorities and centred his fire on the alien rulers, the capitalists and land lords.

"There are only two parties in the country," Nehru had declared soon after the 1937 general elections, "the Congress and the British." "No", Jinnah had retorted, "there is a third the Muslims". Nehru's refusal to see the situation in triangular terms was a clear testimony of his commitment to secular ideals. The election results of 1936 exposed the

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vulnerable position of the congress among the muslims. Nehru in 1937 initiated a muslim mass contact compaign. Jinnah regarded it as a challenge and strengthened the position of the League among the muslim masses by appealing to God and Koran and alleged that Islam was being threatened. Thus the growth of communalism and anti-Congress feeling among the muslim masses could not be checked. Muslim League's monopolistic claim to represent the muslims, its propagation of the two cultures being inherently incompatible and incapable of reconciliation gave fuel to the fire of communalism.

With the celebration of the 'Day of Deliverence' and the passing of the resolution by Muslim League demanding a separate theocratic state, there was breakdown of hope in communal unity and alienation of muslims from Hindus reached in the last leg. Nehru became more concerned with giving assurances to the minorities that the Congress was committed to secularism and their legitimate interests would be protected by a constituent assembly in which there would be such provisions as the League of Nations used to lay down. Thus the Muslim League, paradoxical though it might appear to be, indirectly contributed to the Congress' commitment to rational thinking and a civilized outlook. The refusal to the acceptance of the two nation theory based on religion and theocratic dogma made secularism the only possible alternative. There is no gainsaying that minorities have acted as catalytic agents in the process of developing the secular state in India. However, the acceptance of secularism without any resistance became possible because of certain traditional factors in the life of her people. The whole history of India was witness of the toleration and even encouragement of minorities and of different racial groups.

Hindu Tradition of Tolerance

The acceptance of secularism as its policy by the Indian National Congress and by India after independence was to some extent, due to certain traits of Hinduism that have great bearing on the life and style of Indian people. The individual religious freedom and tolerance towards heterodox beliefs have deep roots in Indian society and contributed to the rise of the concept of secular state.

The study of epistemology shows that throughout its history the Hindu philosophers and social thinkers have been engaged on the twin search of truth: *satya* and *rita.* They saw truth as inherently plural. The ultimate philosophical and religious values of Hinduism do not require a

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Hindu state or any particular kind of state, for that matter. Hindus had great breadth of vision, a liberal universalism. The Vedic seer proclaimed: "reality is one; sages speak of it in different ways". "Mata Bhoomihi putro aham prithivya" (the whole word is our motherland: we are all children of the earth). Similarly a remarkable spirit of agnosticism challenging the existence of the Creator or his omniscience or omnipotence can be seen in the Rigveda: "He from whom this creation arose, whether he made it or did not make it, the highest seer in the highest heaven, the forsooth knows, or does even he not know?"[18] Even atheism was accepted as a part of the tradition by the Hindu faith.

Hinduism was never a missionary religion, never given to proselytism. It has no well-knit organization. "Hence Hinduism has never prepared a body of canonical scriptures or a common Prayer Book; it has never held a General Council or Convention; never defined the relations of the laity and clergy; never regulated the canonization of saints or their worship; never established a single centre of religious life, like Rome or Canterbury; never prescribed a course of training for its priests."[19] There is no gainsaying the fact that all such action is essentially opposed to its spirit and traditions.

Hindu thinkers' main concern has been *Rta,* an inviolable cosmic order. Order in the universe is maintained by each entity keeping to its ordained place and obeying the relevant laws. Human society being an integral part of the universe, reproduces the order and 'truth' of the universe when all men keep to their proper place and discharge their relevant Dharma. The term 'Dharma' has been used in four senses-viz (a) it means religion in the category of theology, (b) it means 'virtue' as opposed to 'vice' in the category of ethics; (c) it means 'law' in the category of law; and (d) it means 'justice' and 'duty' in the category of one's actions. The *Vedas,* the *Smritis* and *Vyavahara* (custom) were regarded as its three major sources of dharma by most Hindu political writers. Although the Hindus recognized the universality of some moral principles, they insisted that the operative morality of a social group was profoundly shaped by time and place. Over the centuries the social structure of India underwent important changes, and many new castes, foreign settlements, guilds, corporations, religious organizations and groups of heretics and atheists came into existence. The Hindu writers extended the traditional theory of *dharma* to them and recognized their right to regulate their affairs according to their own customs and usages, the king having a right to intervene only when these were ambiguous or harmful to public interest.[20] However, there was a clear demarcation

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between the king's functions and those of the royal priest.

Thus, except for a few temporary aberrations, the general atmosphere in ancient India was marked by the spirit of toleration and freedom of faith. That is why christians in 47 A.D., Jews in 70 A.D., the Parsis in the 7th century A.D. came to India; they were welcomed, allowed to settle down and to practise their faith.

The techniques discovered, the values apprehended and the solutions proposed by ancients have become the patrimony of Indian people. It has been inherited by generation after generation. Thus, the spirit of toleration and freedom of faith constituted important ingredients which were conducive to the adoption of a secular state in India.

In the modern age, Emperor Akbar made a very good experiment in the field of religious toleration. Muslim sects such as Sufism also tried to develop a common idiom and evolve a synthesis between Hinduism and the Muslim faith. Later on, the British colonial policy of religious neutrality furnished the secular foundation of the Indian government. This policy was reinforced by an equalitarian legal structure, a secular educational system, and the traditions of a modern administrative state, Moreover, the Indian National Congress from its inception defined its aim in terms of secular political objectives. Thus, says D.E. Smith, the emergence of India as a secular state was the result of attitudes, policies, and forces which had taken shape over hundreds of years, thousands of years, if one considers the tradition of Hindu religious tolerance.[21] On such a foundation, Pt. Nehru erected a grand edifice of secularism in India. He helped to produce a growing temper of mind which subscribed to secular values. He very well knew that the unity of the Indian nation could survive only through a commitment to secularism.

Nehru was committed to the upliftment of the vast multitude of semi-naked, starving crushed and utterly miserable sons and daughters of India. He was extremely moved with the sheer enormity of their suffering. He was a visionary. He thought of an Indian nation in which there would be no ignorance, ill-health and poverty. For future India what would be the matter of faith, not religion, but science and technology. As in India religion cannot be relegated to the sphere of private life, it would not be debarred from public life; and at the same time it would not be associated with the state. State would not patronize any religion; rather all the religions would be treated equally by the state. Nehru adopted secularism not in any western sense but to suit the conditions of India.

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Harmonizing Dimension in Indian Constitutional Process

The philosophy and vision of the Indian Constitution was the output of several decades of intellectual exercise of Pt. Nehru. He gave to the constitution of India its spirit and social puposiveness. The Objectives Resolution which later took the form of the Preamble to the constitution was Nehru's handiwork and laid down the fundamental principles for the texture of the constitution. It stressed the secular nature of the constitution. It guaranteed freedom of belief, faith and worship, and envisaged that adequate safeguards would be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other classes. Pt. Nehru chaired several most important committees of the Constituent Assembly and had special interest in fundamental rights, protection of minority rights, and social reform aspect of the constitution. He had tremendous faith in self-respect and the dignity of the individual; he took very active part in the debate on the fundamental rights provisions in the Constituent Assembly. He whole-heartedly supported provisions of adequate safeguards for minorities, tribal areas and backward classes. He firmly stated that it was by protecting the minorities, we would be able to achieve the ultimate national objective—to build an united organic nation based on unity in diversity. Intervening in the debate on the proposed citizenship provisions, he said:

> **It is hrought in all contexts, as if by saying that we are a secular state we have done something amazingly generous, given something out of our pocket to the rest of the world, something which we ought not to have done, so on and so forth. We have only done something which every country does, except a very few misguided and backward countries in the world.**

The Indian constitution unequivocally provides for a secular state and has enjoined upon Indian democracy the task of creating a new social order where social equality will prevail, political and economic justice will be the order of the day, and secularism will govern the relations of all the citizens *inter se* and those of the citizens with the state. The Indian concept of secularism recognizes the relevance and validity of religion in life, but seeks to establish a rational synthesis between the legitimate functions of religion and the legitimate and expanding

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functions of the state.[22] While in the U.S.A., the principle of 'the wall of separation' was adopted on a premise that religion debases if interfered with by the civil power and that the religious liberties would be depleted if interfered with by the state. In India, we did not strictly apply the principle of separation, so that the state would not preclude itself from effecting reforms of social customs, inextricably tied up with religion, thereby materializing socio-economic revolution in the country. Pt. Nehru wanted people to be freed from the clutches of age-old irrational or superstitious practices such as bigamous marriages, child marriage, sati, human sacrifice, Dev dasi. untouchability etc. He was very clear in his mind that the separation would amount to giving constitutional protection to social injustice, exploitation and cruelty in the name of religion.

Several provisions of the constitution enshrine secularism in India. Citizenship is a purely secular matter; it has no reference to the religion of the citizen; and it is further strengthened by the provision for universal adult franchise, irrespective of race, religion, creed or sex. Fundamental rights and obligations flowing from the said citizenship are equally secular in nature. Every citizen, irrespective of his faith is entitled to the fundamental rights and is subject to the fundamental obligations flowing from the status of citizenship. All the rights under Articles 14, 15(1) and (2), 16(1) and (2), 19(1), 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and Article 31 are conferred on all citizens alike, without regard to their religion. Article 44 provides that the state shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India.

Indian secularism is not anti-religion rather it maintains equidistance from all religions. The framers believed that the state should treat all religions with tolerance and equality. Article 27 prohibits payment of taxes for any particular religion and not for the promotion of all religions generally. This article would not bar any provision if it benefits all religious institutions in general without making any discrimination. Again, Article 290A provides for the annual payment of certain Dewaswom Funds.

The framers of the Indian constitution laid down categorically, in Article 28 that 'no religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of state funds'. Educational institutions partially aided or merely recognized by the state are free to provide religious instruction to their pupils, but they too may not make such instruction compulsory for any of them. Article 29 and 30 provide for the cultural and educational rights of linguistic or religious

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minorities in India. The framers of the constitution were conscious of the fact that religious or linguistic minorities needed protection in respect of their language, script and culture, and they took full care for the protection of the rights of minorities.

Article 25 and 26 constitute the basis of the concept of Indian secularism. Article 25 guarantees freedom of (1) conscience, (2) free profession, (3) practice, and (4) propagation, of religion subject to (1) public order, (2) morality, (3) health, and (4) the other provisions of part III. Similarly, when the state is dealing with economic, financial, political or other secular problems or is solving the problem of social welfare and reform, including the problem of throwing open Hindu religious institutions of public character to all classes and sections of Hindus, the discussion and decision of these issues will proceed on secular, social economic, rational and scientific grounds, and religion or any considerations associated with religion will have no relevance in that sphere. These provisions show that the framers, after protracted debate, discussion and deliberation reached a workable compromise. They were committed not to any principle but to make the Indian nation very much cohesive and just. Article 26 deals with the freedom to manage religious affairs. It provides that subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes, to manage its own affairs in matters of religion and to own and aquire movable and immovable property. However, 26(d) provides that they have the right to administer the property in accordance with law; and 'law' in this context means the relevant secular law passed by the state legislature within its legislative competence.

Several members of the Constituent Assembly belonging to minority communities expressed their satisfaction on the minority safeguards. The Times, London, commented editorially in 1949 that 'the ideal of the secular, religiously neutral, for which Mr. Nehru and his colleagues stand, has been notably fortified.' Chester Bowles had said that one of the greatest achievements of Mr. Nehru was the creation of a state' in which the fortyfive million muslims who chose not to go to Pakistan may live peacefully and worship as they please'.[23]

Jawaharlal Nehru was of the view that in a country like India, socially and economically retarded, entrenched by religious, ethnic, linguistic and tribal cleavages, inhabiting a vast land mass, the adoption of secularism was the pragmatic solution to its problems. We can achieve unity and integrity of the nation as well as progress only by secular

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approach. In 1950, he declared: "The government of a country like India, with many religions that have secured great and devoted followings for generations, can never function satisfactorily in the modern age except on a secular basis".[24] In the parliament in 1952, he said: In India, often enough we have to deal with a way of thinking which follows old ruts, sometimes with superstitions, and with outlooks that stand in the way of progress". To Nehru, the secular state was a social ideal, the realization of which depended on far more than constitutional provisions.

Implementation of Constitutional Principles

India owed its survival from partition as much to Patel and Pant as to Pt. Nehru. Sardar Patel and Pt. Pant, both were admirable administrators and ruthless people who understood politics; Patel performed daunting diplomatic task of integrating more than five hundred princely states into the Indian Union with rare finesse. In 1950, he died with his mission accomplished. Although his death was irreparable loss to the nation, it strengthened Nehru's hand politically. The Congress party organization was more within the control of Patel than Nehru. Moreover, there existed an ideological and political cleavage between Patel and Nehru. Patel was very much a Hindu traditionalist and his political values were much closer to Gandhi's outlook. There was left no serious rival of Nehru in the Congress party after Patel's death; his political and functional constraints tended to disappear. He felt free to establish the guiding principles of independent India. One of those principles that has far-reaching significance, was secularism. If India today is not a theocratic Hindu state, the credit must go to Nehru. Dauntless, resolute, steadfast to his principles, Nehru almost singlehanded, strove to modernize India's medieval society by substituting technology for tradition and science for superstition. His struggle against bigotry, obscurantism and prejudice was relentless.[25]

During 50's several legislative measures were taken to bring the administration of property belonging to religious denominations under state control. States such as Madras, Mysore, Bombay, Bihar and Orissa passed legislations to control the administration of Hindu religious endowments. Devout Hindus objected to liberties being taken with their religion; but these objections were, on several occasions, overruled by judicial decisions.[26] Thus secular matters of religion such as administration of property has been within the perview of legislature and can be regulated reasonably without offending the fundamental rights of

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any citizen or without invading the guarantee for freedom of religion.

In persuance to his secular principles, Nehru piloted the ship of several bills through storms within and outside parliament relating to the presonal law of the Hindus; as a result of his crusading spirit, the Hindu code ultimately became a reality and entered the statute book of India. Despite there being opposition from the traditional Hindus, Nehru realized the significance of enacting a secular Hindu Code and stood firmly for secularizing Hindu Law. It took his government nearly six years to pass two important measures, (1) giving Hindu women equal rights with men in inheritence, succession and holding of property, and (2) establishing monogamy and providing for divorce. These measures were introduced piecemeal as a compromise with orthodox opinion. He persuaded the Indian Parliament to accept his views that the Hindu community must come to terms with modernism, that matters of personal law are secular and provisions of personal law must be rationalized and framed consistently with considerations of justice, equity and good conscience. He struggled hard to secularize the outlook of the Hindu community and thereby raise the social status of women and protect their rights. Thus the Hindu code was a major step taken by Nehru in assisting the creation of a new social order within the Hindu community.

For the promotion of the secular view of life in free India, he pinned his faith on restructuring the society and economy on the basis of modern scientific and technological knowledge. He laid the foundation of real secular India with heavy engineering, oil exploration, defence industry, drugs and pharmaceuticals, aircraft industry, etc.; he established scientific laboratories, and technical institutes. Foundations were laid for agricultural modernization by building huge dams, vast reservoirs, gigantic power stations, fertilizer plants and so on, which were called by him the new temples of the new India in the making. Education public health, improved agricultural practices, family planning etc. might reach to the remotest village of the country, Community Development Schemes were started with the avowed aim. Pt. Nehru was an ardent supporter of the application of science and technology not only in industry, agriculture and all fields of economic activities but also he pleaded for a scientific approach to life's problems.

There has been a strong feeling since Nehru's time that it is inherently contradictory that citizens of different religions should have their rights and interests in the matters of marriage, divorce, succession and other such matters, differently governed and determined. Pt. Nehru

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has been criticised for having made distinction between the Hindus and Muslims by secularizing and modernizing Hindu Law. In fact Nehru thought that the legislative measures adopted with a view to bringing about socio-economic revolution should not be far ahead of the public opinion in the matter.He felt that whereas the Hindu community had been intellectually prepared for the acceptance of the secular concept of personal law, the muslim community unfortunately had not been so prepared and so he expressed his opinion on several occasions that there is need to prepare social ground and atmosphere which would induce the muslim community to accept a common civil code. He thought that in course of time, as a result of education and propaganda, uniform civil code would be adopted by minorities also without any resistance. But unfortunately, no effort has been made for creating a climate of acceptance in the muslim community, rather things are moving in the reverse gear and the infirmity continues to exist as a veritable battle ground; muslims who did not object to uniform personal laws enacted upto 1955, are doing so now. The most glaring example is adoption law. From 1972 to 1980 the adoption bill was on the cards. It saw passionate debate, joint select committee deliberation, public hearing and two amended versions. Finally it fizzled out. The sole basis of muslin objection was that their personal law did not sanction adoption. 'Witnesses were asked by Joint Select Committee members how they or their community had not objected to the Special Marriage Act in 1955. The answer was that no one had asked them, otherwise they would have objected. When their attention was drawn to changes in personal law made in Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey, the witnesses replied that those were dictatorships. India was a secular democracy and therefore should not interfere in the personal laws of the minorities rather a strange interpretation of secularism![27] The fundamentalist opposition to uniform civil code is based less on logic or jurisprudence and more on emotionalism and dangerous political considerations. Any alteration of their personal law is regarded as a grave violation of freedom of religion by minorities.

Smith rightly says that: "undoubtedly, much of Nehru's hesitation over a uniform civil code derived from his concern that nothing be done which would have an unsettling effect upon the minorities, especially the muslims. In order to build up the confidence of religious minorities in the non-communal secular nature of the Indian state, Nehru is constrained to sacrifice for the time being other significant principles of the secular state such as a uniform civil code".[28] Thus, in his keenness to win the

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confidence of the muslim community, he did not throw his full weight on the side of secularism. In 1959 Brecher wrote:" Despite his power and prestige Nehru continues to exhibit a lack of confidence about the right course of action. In part, his vacillations are due to the intellectual in Nehru who sees all points of view and therefore hesitates to act boldly lest he destroys the element of 'good' which he thinks all view points possess. He is a perfectionist".[29]

In fact, after independence, Nehru became particularly concerned for the protection of the minorities. He was determined to develop in the minorities a sense of self-confidence which was shaken as a result of the trauma of partition; the christians were assured of full freedom for evangelical work so long as it did not undermine unity and integrity of India. He gave special attention to the development of the muslims. 'He felt Hindus were safe anyhow in India, but minorities should be protected, even if the majority had to sacrifice something'. He wanted the muslims to join the national mainstream by overcoming their sense of alienation so that they must not remain marginal to the making of new India. An excellent account of the Indian Muslims' psyche has been made by M.J. Akber:

> **This sub-continent was partitioned by the muslims. The guilt of that still remains. The real tragedy is that the price of partition is not being paid by the people who got Pakistan, but by the muslims in India. The memory of a nation divided is a powerful one. It seeps into decisions, sub-consciously or unconsciously sometimes. It creates an aura of suspicion around the Indian muslims; it adds to the argument that the muslims cannot really be trusted.** [30]

Nehru felt that once muslims regain their self-confidence they will review their past political fears in terms of new opportunities and participate in the political processes as secular citizens of India.

To Nehru all forms of communalism endangers democracy. But minority communalism is less of a threat to democracy and national unity than the communalism of the majority. He was very much critical of Hindu traditional outlook.

In fact, in a country like India, with multi-faceted diversity, secularization was a very tough task. It needed a very strong commitment to action; it needed good policies as well as their implementation. Nehru was a good man with vision and ideas. He was not as determined to

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implement his policies as his vision had called for. If he could not enact a uniform civil code or curb communalism, this was not his lack of girt to implement unpopular changes. He was a true democrat and wanted to bring socio-economic revolution by consent in India. He wanted to bring changes by educating the masses properly. His real neglect was on the implementation side rather than on the side of policy. Ravindra Kumar has rightly comments:

> **Nehru's attempt was not only to de-link religion from the formal and vested institutions of religion, but also to push religion to the private domain of operation. Religion was a very valid value for the individual in his personal life, but it should not play or operate upon the political arena. This was a further refinement of the concept of secularism as defined by Gandhi, which Nehru tried to project onto our political scene. Very frankly, I don't think he was successful in this endeavour, for the simple reason that the popular mind in India has really no notion of the distinction between the public and private domain that one is talking of.**

Erosion of Secular Values

Initially, after independence, it appeared as though communalism was loosing ground. But the tranquillity resulting from the trauma of partition did not last long. Gradually the memory of partition receded. The planned development, Community Development Schemes and the promises made during elections generated revolution of riesing expectations among the masses. However, the electoral process gave the minorities opportunities to bargain votes for communal advantages. On the other hand, as a result of special care of minorities, there started to grow a feeling of deprivation among self-conscious Hindus. Hindu communalists started thinking that the Hindus have been deprived of their rightful place in 'their own country' in the name of secularism. Thus the country was faced with a grave challenge from communalism. Communal riots began to take place in North India from 1959 onward. Nehru felt a sense of darkness creeping over him. There were 26 riots in 1960, 92 in 1961, 60 in 1962 and 61 in 1963. So communal riots went on occuring and Nehru had no answer to this problem. Riots apart, the agitation in and around Aligarh Muslim University, the Muslim Convention of 1961, the role of the Muslim League in Kerala and

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reactions to it all these were ominous protents of dangerous communal consciousness. In such communalism, the Hindus' distrust and discrimination and the Muslims' sullen and despairing isolation fed eagerly upon each other. Thus powerful forces, partially repressed by Nehru's active stress on secularism, came to the surface during last years of his life and after. There was turmoil in the political system and deep malaise in the economy. External policy suffered a massive jolt; there was stagnation in agriculture and rise of corruption in politics. The widespread shortage of food and the price spiral led to the misery and degradation of teeming millions living under seething poverty. As a by-product of poverty communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism had reared its ugly head. Disharmony between the centre and the states was mounting. Finally, Congress was sick in body and spirit. The internal squabbles among congress factions and leaders deflected attention from the real challenge to India's political system. It was rightlv commented by a leading journalist:.

> **The real politics of India is the politics of poverty and development. All else is dross. The tensions of linguism, casteism, communalism, regionalism and economic discontent are essentially by-products of poverty. The tragedy of the Indian situation today is that just when an economic breakthrough is within sight, the poverty of Indian politics threatens to brake development by fastening attention on secondary distractions, by promoting a sense of defeatism and failure, and by its growing irresponsibility and triviality and in this sorry situation, the Congress is able to give full reign to all its petty intrigues, factional quarrels and manoeuvering for personal position in a manner reminiscent of the KMT (Kuomintang) and the Wafd.** [31]

In an innately non-revolutionary society like India, bound down by an age-old way of life, encrusted with passivity, caste, and archaic barriers to change, seventeen years are too short a period for a leader to complete the process of secularization; the barriers of society, history and psychology were too great to be overcome within one and half decades. Moreover, Nehru's commitment to secularism was respected but not shared, by the majority of the Congress elite.[32] There began massive perversion of secularist practices after Nehru. Persons while holding public offices have no hesitation in participating in religious ceremonies.

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Again, a Haj Committee under the aegis of government, has been in operation for decades to assist Indian Muslim piligrims to travel to Mecca. The Iftars are being held in Rashtrapati Bhavan every year. Similarly several practices are performed by public dignitaries which can never be called secular. Thus, 'permissive communalism' has been gaining ground and the forces upholding secular values have suffered a loss of appeal. Today, religion has degenerated into an instrument of oppression. In the name of religion crimes are perpetrated; women are denied their rights, every kind of cruelty is perpetuated on them. It is the High Priest of Dawoodi Bohras who will decide what his followers shall read, when and who they shall marry and for whom they shall marry. Politicians and political parties have made shame of secularism. They have tried to perpetuate communal compartmentalization of society. Political parties are more interested in getting votes from the minorities than in building a really non-communal structure. Dozens of organizations have propped up on communal feelings; and they are slur on India's secularism. Today, Indian secularism is regarded as a 'fragile myth'. There is a resurgence of communalism, casteism and other obscurantist and superstitious practices. Arun Shourie pertinently observes that with new opportunities coming up, either for political office or for the funds of the state, everybody retreats to the group he knows, either caste or region or religion, so as to be able to organize himself around something to get at that fruit; that caste's influence on day to day life is declining but not its influence on politics.

Recognising that secular forces are getting eroded day by day, the secularization process is being thwarted by anti-secular forces, T.N. Madan has argued that "in the prevailing circumstances secularism in South Asia as generally shared credo of life is impossible, as a basis for state action impracticable, and as a blueprint for the foreseable future impotent. It is impossible as a credo of life because the great majority of the people of South Asia are in their own eyes active adherents of some religious faith. It is impracticable as a basis for state action either because Buddhism and Islam have been declared state or state-protected religions or because the stance of religious neutrality or equidistance is difficult to maintain since religious minorities do not share the majority's view of what this entails for the state. And it is impotent as a blueprint for the future because, by its very nature, it is incapable of countering religious fundamentalism and fanaticism".**33**

This powerful indictment of secularism is justified to some extent by the practice that we have in India. In fact, his argument is against ideological secularism which was advocated by English Radicals during the middle of the 19th century. On the other hand, in India the secularism

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has been adapted to the Indian situation and suited to Indian conditions and to the Indian genius. It has been a policy of the state for establishing acceptability across all the communities. It continues to be fundamental and relevant principle of the Indian state because we have a tradition-bound, caste-ridden and authoritarian society in India which aims to achieve modernization, and socio-economic justice. We can't do without it. The practical consequences of any other policy are of grave importance for it would inevitably lead to the encouragement of disreptive tendencies. Our difficulty is that in India, 'honest secularism' has been replaced by practice of 'permissive communalism'. Shortly befor his death Nehru had written: "Our constitution lays down that we are a secular state, but it must be aditted that it is not wholly reflected in our mass living and thinking."

Nehru envisioned the transformation of a classical civilization of antiquity into a modern industrial state, socialistic in structure, democratic in form and secular in ethos. If he could not fully realize his ideals, it was because he, unlike Gandhi, did not succeed 'in creating round him a group of men who understood his socialist and secular philosophy and were determined to see it through'. Gandhi created a dedicated sense of service to the people. 'Unlike Nehru who lacked the intuitive ability to communicate his daemonic energy and his passion for serving the common people to his colleagues or followers, Gandhi possessed a genius for making heroes out of common clay and for attracting to himself and to the cause of men and women of widely varied outlook and temperament".[34]

Thus, there can be no doubt that the foundations of the Indian nation have been well and truly laid by Nehru. According to him, India must be a secular country, one in which all minorities may live in security. And his greatest achievement has been to keep that ideal firmly before the eyes of Indians. But the superstructure did not get oriented in the direction indicated by the foundations he laid for the Indian nation; and above all, some of the people who inhabit the superstructure do not seem inclined to fulfil the role that Nehru set for the superstructure. Even if Nehru's follow up action failed to match his ideas and sentiments, it is beyond doubt that he at least left us with the right answers and the correct approaches:

> In a country like India, which has many faiths and religions, no real nationalism can be built except on the basis of secularity. Any narrower approach must exclude a section of the population and then nationalism itself will have a restricted meaning than it should possess. We have not only

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to live upto the ideals proclaimed in our constitution, but make them a part of our thinking and living and thus build up a really integrated nation. That does not mean absence of religion, but putting religion on a different plane from that of normal political and social life. Any other approach in India would mean the breaking up of India .[35]

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Law And Women Problems And Prospects

K.C. Joshi

One could judge the degree of civilization of a country by the social and political position of its women. This observation was made by Charles Fourrier, the French philosopher (1772-1837). The position of women in India has not been very sound in the preceding few hundred years. During British rule, certain attempts were made to improve the lot of women. For this purpose certain attempts were made to improve the lot of women. For this purpose certain laws were enacted. These include the Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act, 1856 (repealed in 1983), the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937 (repealed in 1956 and replaced by the Hindu Succesion Act) and the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939.

The framers of the Constitution while resolving to secure justice, liberty and equality to all the Indian citizens, made special provisions for the protection of women. This shows that the position of women was weak and unequal and it required special protection so as they may become equal to men. Article 15(1) injuncts the State from discriminating only on ground of sex, Clause (3) of the same article enables the State for making special provisions for the advancement of women. Similarly, the State cannot discriminate against women for employment or appointment under it only on ground of sex. Exploitation of fair sex has always been a difficult problem. Article 23, therefore prohibits traffic in human beings.

When article 4 of the Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy was discussed in the All India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay on August 8, 1931, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya objected the use of the words "women need protection". She said that women need no protection from anybody not even from the State,. They only want "attention", she pleaded,[1] . This attention to women has been given in Part IV of the Constitution. Article 39(d) directs the State for equal pay for equal work, Just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief are expected by article 42. Article 51 A imposed a duty on every citizen for renouncing practices derogatory to the dignity of women.

In furtherance of the Constitutional mandate various laws have been enacted. It appears that enactment of ligislation has been taken as a panacea. Legislation is important but more important is its implementation. This aspect of implementation has a wider connotation.

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There are three wings of the State involved in giving effect to legislation. These are the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Legislature, in view of the modern game of power politics, has certain inbuilt inhibitions in making the laws. In India, the heterogeneity of religions have further complicated the matter. Here a child takes birth either as a male or as a female. He grows as a Hindu or Muslim or Christian or Parsi. Hence legislative reforms have many constraints. The best example of this complex issue is the absence of a uniform civil code. There is a clear Constitutional directive contained in article 44 of the Constitution. But everyone knows that this has not been possible even after forty years of the Constitution. The result is that a sizable number of women have no equality *albeit* article 14 guarantees such equality and articles 15 and 16 authorise the State to make special provisions for women. Thus a flagrant violation of the rule of law continues against Muslim women.[2]

The other example of legislative constraint is seen in the enactment of the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986. This law was enacted after much hue and cry over the ruling of the Supreme Court in *Moh. Ahmed Khan* v. *Shah Bano Begum.*[3] This ruling was that under section 125, Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 a Muslim divorced wife who has not remarried is entitled to claim maintenance from her husband.

The second aspect is enforcing the laws by the executive. There are many facets of implementing laws at this level. Proper investigation plays crucial role. All are worried about the dowry deaths. The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 was amended in 1984 to make it more effective. But the evil has not abatted. One of the reasons for increase in the offence is apathy of the investigating agencies. For instance, in *Lichhamadevi* v. *State of Rajasthan*".[4] One Pushpa was harassed by her in-laws for not bringing sufficient dowry. She ultimately died of burns. She was found in flames by the neighbours in the kitchen which was closed and bolted from out side. Her mother-in-law and husband did not provide any relief to Pushpa. The entire conduct of the husband showed tacit consent in the murder of his wife. He was, however, not charge sheeted by the investigating officer. Similarly, the elder brother of Pushpa's husband was seen by the witnesses behind the kitchen and running down the stairs while Pushpa was in flames. Not only this, Pushpa's mother-in-law told the police that her elder son might have burnt Pushpa. But the investigating officer did not prosecute him. Such casual and indifferent attitude of investigating aurhorities makes the implementation of laws difficult.

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The third and important role in implementing the law is played by the courts. The role played by the American Supreme Court is well known. Our courts have also shown some significant zones where they have taken social facts into account. We have already reffered to *Shah Bano* case, where the Supreme Court ruled that sec. 125 Cr. P.C. is a secular provision and it operates irrespective of the personal law of the parties. The court in furtherance of its zeal for equality for Muslim women has gone one step further in *Subano* v *A.M. Abdul Gafoor.*[5] In this case the court considered the relative position of a Muslim wife whose husband has remarried as against a Muslim wife whose husband has taken a mistress to claim maintenance from her husband. In the instant case, the husband has taken a second wife. His first wife filed a petition under sec. 125 Cr. P.C. for maintenance and separate residence. The husband opposed the petition on the ground that since he is permitted by his personal law to take more than one wife his second marriage cannot afford a legal ground for his first wife to live separately and claim maintenance. The court refused to accept this plea. The court took the view that Sec. 125(3) explanation places a second wife and a mistress on the same footing and does not make any difference between them on the basis of their status under matrimonial law. The court also held that the purpose of the Explanation of Sec. 125(3) Cr. P.C. is not to affect the rights of a Muslim husband to take more than one wife. The court awarded maintenance to the aggrieved wife. It also avoided the controversy which *Shah Bano* has raised. The court in this case opined:

The Explanation is of uniform application to all wives including Muslim wives whose husbands have either married another wife or taken mistress.[6]

Violence against women is on increase. Two principal areas of this violence are bride-burning for dowry and sexual offences. The Indian Penal Code 1860 provided for the offence of rape. "Rape for a woman is deathless shame and must be dealt with as the greatest crime against human dignity".[7] The offence has increased sharply. In view of abating the offence, certain amendments have been made in the law[8]. These changes have been made in the Indian Penal Code, Code of Criminal Procedure and the Indian Evidence Act. In the Penal Code, sections 375 and 376 have been substituted and new sections 376A, 376B, 376C and 376D have been inserted. The new section 376 provides a minimum punishment of ten years rigorous imprisonment in cases of custodial rape, rape on a pregnant woman, gang rape and raping a woman under twelve years of age. This punishment may be enhanced to life

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imprisonment. It may, however, be reduced also provided there are special and adequate reasons for it. Sec. 376A provides punishment of imprisonment upto two years where a man has sexual intercourse with his own wife without her consent if the wife is living separately from him under a decree of separation or under any custom or usage. Sec. 376B, 376C and 376D provide with punishment upto five years in cases of intercourse by a public servant with a woman held in custody, by superintendent or manager of a jail, remand home, etc. and by any member of the management or staff of a hospital with any woman in that hospital. To protect the identity of a victim of rape or other sexual offence, a new sec. 228A has been inserted in the I.P.C., prohibiting publication or printing of any matter without authorisation. Provision for in camera trial of rape or other sexual offences is also incorporated in sec. 327 Cr. P.C. Sec. 114A of the Indian Evidence Act as also been added which provides for presumption as to lack of consent in prosecutions for custodial rape, rape on pregnant woman and gang rape where the women states that she had not given consent.

This legislation, on its face value, suggests that rape has become rare and women are completely protected by law. But the facts are stark. The crime against women has increased. Between 1983 and 1985 in the span of three years and after the inserting of stringent provisions in law, there has been an increase of twenty percent in the reported rape cases.[9]

It may be recalled that the Supreme Court ruling in the *Mathura case* 10 evoked much criticism and protest from all sections of the society. The Court had acquitted two police constables who had raped a minor girl of 15 years in the police station. This led to the comprehensive amendments discussed earlier. But the court has again in *Suman Rani case*[11] reduced the sentence of two accused persons. They were found guilty of custodial rape both by the trial court and the High Court. The special and adequate reasons required for reducing the sentence as given by the apex court are amusing. The court has reduced the sentence on the ground of conduct of the rape victim. According to the court, the conduct of the victim was lewd, lascivious and of easy virtue. She had also made delay in filing the complaint. This ruling can hardly be sustained. Firstly, the very object of law is defeated by this interpretation. Many women may be rescued from brothels or vice-dens and put into custodial homes. Under this construction, in case rape is committed against them the defence of easy virtue will be handy. Secondly, the charge of easy virtue is easy to be made against an unfortunate rape victim. and, thirdly, if the custodial rape victim is of easy virtue, what is the nature of the "virtue" of those custodians who certainly are not

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appointed for raping women.

In the light of the above discussion, a realistic judicial approach is required for the successful implementation of such laws. The difficulty with judicial implementation of laws is inherent. It depends on the sensibility of the judge. One cannot resist the temptation of mentioning the name of justice Krishna Iyer here. He, for instance in *Rafiq* v. *State of Uttar Pradesh*[12] rejected the argument that the absence of injuries on the person of the victim of rape was fatal to the prosecution and corroboration of evidence was necessary. Instead, the learned judge observed:

A sensitised Judge who sees the totality of the circumstances would not reject the testimony of the rape victims unless there are very strong circumstances initially against its veracity.[13]

No amount of legislation can prevent the crime against women unless judicial attitude is free from the procedural and technical biases. It has rightly been observed:

A socially sensitised judge is a better statutory armour against gender outrage than long clauses of a complex section with all the protections written into it.[14]

The second zone of violence against women is the evil of dowry. Whatever the rationale of its origin may be, dowry has now become an instrument of oppression and harassment of women. To curb this evil. Parliament enacted the Dowry Prohibition Act in 1961. The evil, however, could not be contained. With the object of strengthening the law, extensive amendments were made in 1984. Cruelty by husband and in-laws of a woman for extracting dowry is attempted to be checked by amending the I.P.C 15, Cr. P.C. 16 and the Evidence Act 17. But mere enactment of legislation becomes will-o-the-wisp unless there is political will, administrative courage, judicial activism and over all social acceptability of the laws. The Dowry Prohibition Act even after its amendment has not mitigated the sorrows of the women. In fact the demand for dowry has increased and its penumbras have transgressed the barriers of religion and caste. Ever growing demand of dowry has converted the institution of marriage into an institution of oppression and harassment with least security of life. There are different ways of such harassment. In some cases the woman is thrown out of the house, while in the other cases she is driven to commit suicide either abetted or aided by the in-laws and the husband. In majority of the cases she is murdered and the murder is portraited as an accident. This 'accident' in majority of the cases is in the kitchen where either kerosene stove bursts

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or her garments catch fire. For the purposes of dowry extraction, a married woman remains a bride for many years. According to an estimate there were 736 unnatural deaths of young brides between the age of 18-30 years in 1985. This figure increased to 776 in 1986. Out of these 452 and 478 died of burns in the respective years.[18] This menace of dowry can be checked with the co-operation of judiciary in identfying the culprits and bringing them to book. For this, the technicalities of evidence and procedure will have to be minimised.

In *Sudha's case*[19], the Supreme Court took note of the social reality and convicted the accused persons. In this case, the victim was in advanced stage of pregnancy and was reported to have died of burns. She was reported to be warming milk on a kerosene stove in December when she caught fire *accidently*. The Supreme Court took note of the absence of warm clothes, advanced stage of pregnancy and modern kitchen with LPG stove and ignored the weak witnesses. Similarly, in *State of Punjab* v. *Amarjit Singh*[20], the court convicted the husband for burning his wife for dowry on the basis of dying declaration recorded by the investigating officer and not by a Magistrate as is generally done.[21] The court relaxed the general rule and took note of the illtreatment and harassment of the victim by the accused for not satisfying the dowry demand. Such realistic approach by the judiciary may not appear apparently fair but it would certainly and ultimately be useful for preventing the menace of dowry deaths of young women.

Sometimes the judicial approach becomes juxtaposed. *Wazir Chand* v. *State of Haryana*[22] is an example of such approach. Veena died of burn injuries within a period of one year of her marriage. There were persistent demands of dowry from her. The courts below convicted the accused persons under sections 306/107 and 498A I.P.C. But on appeal, the Supreme Court acquitted the accused under sections 306/107 (abetment for suicide) and convicted them under sec. 498A I.P.C. (subjecting a woman to cruelty by husband or relatives of husband). The court did this inspite of the fact that it was established that the victim was harassed, humiliated and insulted by the accused persons for dowry.[23] Here, the court ignored the reality of social fact and based its judgement on an orthodox interpretation of law.

The condition of women in India cannot be improved by any single method. The role of legislation also cannot be ignored altogether. What is more important is its monitoring and implementation. There are certain areas which have neither been touched by legislature nor brought before the courts. The enactment of a uniform civil code has been delayed

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because there is political intricacy. This will, it is feared, continue till there is religious fanaticism. This fanaticism can only be mitigated by awakening of common citizen of the country. But there does not seem any cogent reason for not amending the Divorce Act, 1969. This Act denies equality to christian women and also perpetuates the historical anacronism. There are certain laws which have miserably failed but continue to be in statute book. The Child Marriage Restraint Act is the example of such law. In the recent past some other laws have been included to this category. The Indecent Represetation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986 and the Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987 can be put in this category. How far these will protect the women cannot be said. But the glorification of sati and continuing indecent advertisements of women prove that the laws have no respect.

All said and done, nothing can be achieved unless the women themselves donot rise to the occasion. The coming up of some women organisations for women's rights is not so important as their viability in the existing social, political and economic milleu. The women must not bank upon men for their upliftment. The "male chauvinism" will not give way to the emancipation of women unless they themselves do not rise. It is true that no people, no group, no community, no country has ever got rid of its disabilities by the generosity of the oppressor the women of India will not attain their full rights by the mere generosity of the men of India. They will have to fight for their rights and recognition.[24]

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PART VI

THE CHARISMATIC LEADER

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Charisma: Heights And Precipices

K.C. Joshi*

The charisma of Nehru's leadership had clearly defined bases. However, when his successors took over the leadership of the nation these bases formally survived but their contents were greatly eroded. Nehru's charisma had several roots; one was dynastic. He inherited the legacy of his father, Moti lal Nehru who had by then become a person of national level reputation. In India dynastic factor constitutes a great force in building up and inculcating the public image of the person.

In many cases movements create leaders and give them the necessary charisma. Activism was necessitated by the on-going freedom struggle. It required dedication and sacrifice. Nehru was a political activist and not an armchair thinker. Though born with a silver spoon in his mouth he got engaged with the rough ground of political mobilisation, organisation, and mass struggle. He could have stayed in England. He could have practised in the highest courts in India and aquired wealth and standing. He was, however impelled by the situation and the ferment in the country to join the national movement and, finally, become its chief architect and steersperson.

Nehru's appeal was broadly humanist. He had strong faith in the dignity of the individual, social justice and a peaceful and cooperative humanity. There was never any major deviation from this basic outlook. He never considered these ideals sound on grounds of expediency. He was honest. This intellectual honesty, combined with a passionate desire to transform the present in the light of these ideals added to his charisma.

Gandhi was already operating on the political stage of the country. He had proved his mettle as a leader and messiah in South Africa. When he came to India he was welcomed as a heaven-sent saviour. Nehru accepted Gandhi as his *guru* and thus by his sincere and abiding faith in Gandhi's leadership, he gained in stature tremendously. He became Gandhian, no doubt with some reservations in the beginning, and this is what the political milieu needed. It had no use for an anglicised barrister. The initial differences gradually subsided. Nehru relented. Gandhi was able to convince Nehru about the Indian path of national reconstruction.

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Nehru could not afford to ignore the Gandhian solution in its entirety. He thus became the acknowledged heir of Gandhi.

Charisma does have genealogical roots. It is in cases a borrowed acquisition or a reflected halo. Intellectual honesty and spirit of dedication do nurse and cultivate it, as they did in Nehru's case. On other occasions skillful calculation and meticulous planning of the strategy help the leader to acquire the needed charisma. But the charismatic leader does not function in vacuo. He fulfils himself in a particular social and political situation. He operates among the masses. The people of India justifiably showered their affection on, placed their confidence in and lent their support to Nehru. He could thus lead, mobilise and inspire the political material at the base. This was his unfailing support structure. There is also no doubt that the latter, in turn, catalysed and inspired the leader.

Charisma has to adjust to the flux of politics-the ever changing situations. A particular situation may call for a monarchical-feudal type of leadership. Sometimes a mystical-magical impulse may help the leader in needed political manipulation. In a situation of crisis and strain a vaguely defined, but vigorously advocated, architectonic appeal might enable the person to hold complete sway over the populace which has been in disarray for a considerable period. Fundamentalism can also be counterpoised to ultramodernism and the leader may partly or wholly succeed in bringing about the desired transformation. The area and the scale of such transformation might differ. Again, the charismatic performance may be staged at the local, national or even wider level. The appeal can also be strictly ethnic, social or regional.

In Nehru's case the broad perspective centred round the worth of the individual, socio-economic justice, and human brotherhood. But on the pragmatic level, and within this consistently broad framework, eclecticism was widely needed and the rigour of internal consistency had to be abandoned to provide a convincing character to the appeal for national freedom and reconstruction. The task was to create a broad based national movement encompassing all sections of the people in India. Again, the task was to embrace diverse values, mores and ideals which had moulded the national psyche for centuries. It was also not possible to dismiss the long term consequences of European Renaissance which had given to the nations of the West the position of dominant leadership.

Nehru could, therefore, afford to be eclectic. Westernism could be married to Gandhism. Science could co-exist with spirituality. Centralised planning could concede decentralization. National solidarity

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was no bar to universalism. One could go to a place of worship and apply the sacred solution to the forehead after duly bowing before the deity. At the same time you could also call the giant factories as modern temples. Nehru could combine the economic interpretation of the rise and fall of civilizations with the mystique of the Ganges and Bharat Mata. An Einstein could shake hands with a mystic and thereby prove that life is a mix and, therefore, rich and varied in content.

In all this, and, behind all this, there was an undiluted and unshakable factor. It was absolute honesty and sincerity of purpose. It was his unbounded faith in the people. It was basically a human approach. A human approach is tolerant and therefore special about the finality of specified taxonomies and reserved compartments of thought. Inspired action was the key to the service of the people.

This explains the mass appeal of the leader. Nehru's charisma could move the masses by way of inspiration, provocation and active struggle. The people in turn loved and believed him. The support-structure of the leader remained loyal and dedicated. In fact, charisma does not float in the air. It is operational. It has a field of operation. Hence the relationship between the leader and his constituents is reciprocal. They enliven and reinforce each other. This is quite evident in the case of Nehru vis-a-vis the people of India.

With the inauguration of the democratic process in the country the power of Nehru's charisma was proved by the fact that he virtually became the symbol of national aspirations and the representative of national goals. He could win an election from any part of the country. He could get any candidate elected by mobilizing and convincing the electorate concerned. He had a strong hold over the civil service. The Congress Party was under his absolute command. He was acknowledged as the most authentic spokesman of the country by other nations. He had, no doubt, a galaxy of distinguished comrades. The latter also had the reputation as the great leaders and the ability to swing the masses in their favour. They also had the strength and the character of liberal democrats. But Nehru towered above them all.

At times, in self-critical moments Nehru was sceptical about his liberal and democratic credentials. He could divine some anti-democratic potential in his charismatic leadership. Generally he was tolerant of different views. He respected the opposition. He believed in religious toleration. He was convinced that different systems can co-exist. He overtly subverted the established procedures and institutions. Next to the people, he had great respect for the parliament. Yet such was the stature and charisma of the person that he dominated the

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proceedings of the parliament; he had absolute swayover the cabinet; the party was under his undisputed control; his was the final voice in the selection of the candidates for elections; the foreign office and policy were virtually a one-man show; he could intimidate the judiciary by reminding it of its subordinate role vis-a-vis the parliament; judges were offered political assignments; his cavalier attitude compelled some cabinet ministers to resign; and so on.

This deviant streak in Nehru's personality never became dominant. It remained subordinate and submissive. No risk was involved so long as there was no fraud. As long as there was sincerity of purpose and the confidence of the people in the bona fides of the leader, the democratic system could maintain its essential ethos and drive. The Congress Party still had a team of dedicated leaders. Popular faith in the leadership was such that the people could afford to wait for the utopia to become a reality.

The lip service to the role and the legacy of the Congress Party in the freedom struggle, the claim of the Congress cadres to a monopoly of patriotism and the wretched efforts to get a price thereof, the growing weakness ot the democratic opposition at the national and local levels, the continued use of political power by the same (Congress) Party, the slow but steady personalization and vulgarization of power, the slow and retarded growth of economy, the non-availability of the benefits of development at the grassroot level and the national debacle at the time of India-China war were responsible for the erosion of Nehru's charisma in the concluding years of his distinguished political career. It appeared that the new power and caucus breed of leaders in the party had no need for an honest and sincere leadership. Nevertheless, the people, though disillusioned to a large extent, could still hope for a miracle at the hands of the leader. At the same time, they were also partly conscious of his declining charisma and its possible negative impact.

Charisma is a multi-edged weapon. Whatever the bases of the charisma and, whatever the field of its operation, it can serve as a means of either reconstruction or relapse into barbarism. Charisma fosters the field; and, the field, in turn, fosters the charisma. Charisma creates sense of a mission, a feeling of some destined role, an unparalleled confidence and faith in one's ability to succeed in bringing about socio-political transformation in the desired direction. It can also become self-defeating. It can become degenerative and decelerative. It, in several cases, turns into a means of and a cover for unscrupulous exercise of power for personal or factional ends. The field, the constituency, succumbs to the use of wile and violence. It reconciles to its misery and

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subjection and becomes an unwilling and docile tool of the emerging manipulative system. Apathy and docility are then the values in circulation Charisma, far from being a boon and beneficiary, turns into mere cant and curse.

Charisma generates power. It is also vice-versa. This power gets concentrated in the hands of one person and subsequently in a caucus. This power is multi-faceted and its ramifications are multi-directional Hence charisma is either individual or caucus oriented. Even in the case of a charismatic leader with sincerity of purpose, success in giving hue and shape to the mission may preserve the bona fide of the charisma; but there are situations when the flux of socio-political circumstances and the psycho-pathological changes affecting the leader might prove too dangerous. The caucus, itself may acquire a position of dominant influence and thereafter encircle the charisma while cherishing its symbolic value. At other times the death of a charismatic leader, or his incapacitation, creates a false consciousness of charisma in the mind of the successor.

Consequently, the liberal values of the dignity of the individual, social justice and human solidarity are the inevitable victims. The democratic order is gradually subverted. Incrementalism and adhocism are directed to the preservation of the entrenched charisma and the manipulative caucus. This is what happened after the death of the great leader in India. In general, and in particular also, even before the twilight of his career the leader may groom his or her progeny to take over the leadership. A weakened institutional set up and the non-availability of a charismatic leadership of equal stature compel the nation to accept the progeny, sponsored by a caucus, as the legitimate heir. This strategem ensures continuity. In a society with feudal and monarchical patterns of thought and behaviour such a changeover is uncritically accepted. For the old or the emerging power-elite this is the best possible course of action. Again utter chaos may occur after the passing away of the charismatic leader. Crisis creates opportunity. Such a challenging situation might throw up a leadership hitherto unknown and inconceivable. Such a leader might rise to the occasion and again curve out the destiny of the nation in a most creative manner. Yet the opposite can also happen.

Lal Bahadur Shastri could have developed charisma to a certain degree. Critical situations might have asked him to prove his qualities of leadership and he could have responded well, or, he could have met the challenges without acquiring charisma. All this is hypothetical because

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his was a brief interlude since he died early in harness. Nehru's daughter emerged as the consensus candidate for the leadership of the nation. As long as she played the part of the hostess, while Nehru was alive, she imbued this role with the charm of her manners, affection, geniality delicacy and expertise. Beneath the veneer of charm and delicacy was also maturing a nature which was down to earth, keenly perceptive, astute, calculating, observant, obstinate in pursuing means towards a determined end and closely aware of the foibles and idiosyncracies of people whom she had seen with her father. Her initiation to politics, active organisational politics, dates back to her assuming the presidentship of the Congress Party. The father did cherish a popular and political role for the daughter. The role was still a subdued one. Later when she became the Minister for Broadcasting and Information in the Union Cabinet, her role was glamourless. But after stabilizing her position as Prime Minister she gave ample evidence of a seasoned politician, able administrator, diplomat and a skillful strategist.

In decision-making she was quick like an electric charge and developed the ability of being ruthless and thorough in the implementation thereof. She could admirably feel the nerves and the sensibilities of the people. She could spin slogans and phrases appropriate for the occasion and audience. She could tactically propitiate different deities and saints publicly. She thus became the undisputed leader of the country. Her position as the supreme leader of the party was unassailable. She came to be identified with the nation. Other leaders of standing became like morons. It was she who personally won the national or state elections.

Once the charisma gave the leader the status of the arbiter she could play the game of political power. The ends were those defined by her father. The means had to be adjusted and worked out. Political strategy had to be in keeping with situation. It could be value-oriented and also value neutral. Power had to be sustained at all costs. Now started the process of institutional breakdown. The institution of democratic leadership was replaced by the cult of personality. Democratic institutions like the party, the legislature, the offices of the formal and real executive, the judiciary and the various statutory bodies to aid and advise, and, finally, the local self-governing bodies became perverted under the shadow of the colossal charisma and the factors owing tactical and opportunistic allegiance to it. The democratic character of the Congress Party was superseded by a caucus and extra-constitutional power complex. Incumbants to the highest offices were determined by the non-democratic centres of power. The offices of the party leader and

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the Prime Minister were very often combined. The cabinet was reduced to a rubber stamp. The ruling party members of the parliament were committed to the creed of personal loyalty to the charismatic leader and not to any national ideology. The theoretical character of a politically neutral civil service was retained but, in practice, the civil service surrendered its role to the leader. It was constrained to become committed and the same emphasis of 'commitment' was demanded from the judiciary. The overall effect of the institutional breakdown was in the direction of regional, ethnic, caste and subcultural consolidation. The media was summarily dismissed. This reverse process was accelerated with the passing away of the charismatic leader.

This contrast between the heights and the precipices shows that a democratic society should avoid the danger of installing, concecrating and nursing charisma. Whatever the bona fides of the leader the risk, both during his tenure and after, is considerable. Nehru was sincere. He steered the ship of the nation in critical situations. He had faith in the soundness of means aimed at realising equally sound ends. His theoretical perspective of liberal humanism remained intact till his last days. Nonetheless even in the heyday of Nehruism, and of course subsequently, politics tended to become personalised. Personality cult appeared. Mass psyche became oriented towards non-institutional and extra-procedural means. The daughter was wedded to real politic. Consequently, her charisma began fostering those very non-democratic trends which Nehru's leadership had by and large succeeded to keep under control.

Technology and science, peace and survival, democracy and welfare, man and his environment, order and personal identity are today collective concerns. They require awareness, widest possible consensus, participatory models etc. The issue of appropriate leadersip is a living issue. But charisma, in the long run, is inimical to the factors of credibility and accountability. The adhoc gains, even significant gains, accruing out of charisma have to be surrendered in favour of long term advantages which can be guaranteed only by a leadership which is founded upon liberal ideals, justified means, a duly established procedure and popular consensus. Otherwise charisma tends to become a "self perpetuating monster" and a surrogate for the dignity and the identity of the common man.

Unfortunately, in India, we seem to be craving for some political deity. This may be partly due to our authoritarian traditions. In part this is the result of the myth of perennial crisis and permanent possibility of

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disorder. Such a deification of the political apex is also sedulously created by the entrenched caucus. Political inertia and feebleness of protest also aid and abet this phenomenon. The chief political actor on the stage dons charisma and convinces himself and others that he is the *raison detre* of the nation. Shall we always have a statesman like Nehru as the helmsman? Shall we deify any upstart? Shall we succumb to the pressure of charismatic craft and cunning, Shall we bargain our identity or always guard against every inroad upon the dignity of "We the people of India"?

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APPENDIX

The Basic Approach

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

We have many grave internal problems to face. But a consideration of these internal problems inevitably leads to a wider range of thought. Unless we have some clarity of vision, or, at any rate, are clear as to the questions posed to us, we shall not get out of the confusion that afflicts the world today. I do not pretend to have that clarity of thinking or to have any answers to our major questions. All I can say, in all humility, is that I am constantly thinking about these questions. In a sense I might say that I rather envy those who have got fixed ideas and therefore need no take the trouble to look deeper in to the problems of today. Whether it is from the point of view of some religion or ideology, they are not troubled with the mental conflicts which are always the accompaniment of the great ages of transition.

And yet, even though it may be more comfortable to have fixed ideas and be complacent, surely that is not to be commended because that can only lead to stagnation and decay. The basic fact of today is the tremendous pace of change in human life. In my own life I have seen amazing changes, and I am sure that in the course of the life of the next generation these changes will be even greater, if humanity is not overwhelmed and annihilated by an atomic war.

Nothing is so remarkable as the progressive conquest or understanding of the physical world by the mind of man today, and this process is continuting at a terrific pace. Man need no longer be a victim of external circumstances, at any rate to a very large extent. While there has been this conquest of external conditions, there is at the same time the strange spectacle of a lack of moral fibre and of self-control in man as a whole. Conquering the physical world, he fails to conquer himself.

That is the tragic paradox of this atomic and sputnik age. The fact that nuclear tests continue, even though it is well recognised that they are very harmful in the present and in the future, and the fact that all kinds

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of weapons of mass destruction are being produced and piled up, even though it is universally recognised that their use may well exterminate the human race, bring out this paradox with startling clarity. Science is advancing far beyond the comprehension of a very great part of the human race and posing problems which most of us are incapable of understanding, much less of solving. Hence the inner conflict and tumult of our time. On the one side, there is this great and overpowering progress in science and technology and of their manifold consequences; on the other, a certain mental exhaustion of civilisation itself.

Religion come into conflict with rationalism. The disciplines of religion and social usage fade away without giving place to other disciplines, moral or spiritual. Religion as practised either deals with matters rather unrelated to our normal lives and thus adopts an ivory-tower attitude or is allied to certain social usages which do not fit in with the present age. Rationalism, on the other hand, with all its virtues, somehow appears to deal with the surface of things, without uncovering the inner core. Science itself has arrived at a stage when vast new possibilities and mysteries loom ahead. Matter and energy and spirit seem to overlap.

In the ancient days, life was simple and more in contact with nature. Now it becomes more and more complex and more and more hurried without time for reflection or even for questioning. Scientific developments have produced an enormous surplus of power and energy which are often used for wrong purposes.

The old question still faces us, as it has faced humanity for ages past: what is the meaning of life? The old days of faith do not appear to be adequate, unless they can answer the questions of today. In a changing world, living should be a continuous adjustment to the changes and happenings. It is the lack of this adjustment that creates conflicts.

The old civilisations, with the many virtues that they possess, have obviously proved inadequate. The new Western civilisation with all its triumphs and achievements and also with its atomic bombs also appears inadequate and therefore the feeling grows that there is something wrong with our civilisation. Indeed, essentially our problems are those of civilisation itself. Religion gave a certain moral and spiritual discipline; it also tried to perpetuate superstition and social usages. Those superstitions and social usages enmeshed and overwhelmed the real spirit of religion. Disillusionment followed.

Communism comes in the wake of this disillusionment and offers some kind of faith and some kind of discipline. To some extent it fills a

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vacuum. It succeeds in some measure by giving a content to man's life. But in spite of its apparent success, it fails partly because of its rigidity but, even more so, because it ignores certain essential needs of human nature.

There is much talk in communism of the contradictions of capitalist society and there is truth in that analysis. But we see the growing contradictions within the rigid framework of communism itself. Its suppression of individual freedom brings about powerful reactions. Its contempt for what might be called the moral and spiritual side of life not only ignores somethingh that is basic in man but also deprives human behaviour of standards and values. Its unfortunate association with violence encourages a certain evil tendency in human beings.

I have the greatest admiration for many of the achievements of the Soviet Union. Among these great achievements is the value attached to the child and the common man. Their systems of education and health are probably the best in the world. But it is said, and rightly, that there is suppression of individual freedom there. And yet the spread of education in all its forms is itself a tremendous liberating force which ultimately will not tolerate that suppression of freedom. This again is another contradiction. Unfortunately, communism became too closely associated with the necessity for violence and thus the idea which it placed before the world became a tainted one. Means disorted ends. We see the powerful influence of wrong means and methods.

Communism charges the capitalist structure of society with being based on violence and class conflict. I think this is essentially correct, though the capitalist structure itself has undergone and is continually undergoing a change because of democratic and other struggles. The question is how to get rid of inequality and have a classless society with equal opportunities for all. Can this be achieved through methods of violence, or can it be possible to bring about the changes through peaceful methods? Communism has definitely allied itself to the approach of violence. Even if it does not indulge normally in physical violence, its language is of violence, its thought is violent and it does not seek to change by persuasion or peaceful democratic pressures, but by coercion and indeed by destruction and extremination. Fascism has all these evil aspects of violence and extermination in their grossest forms and, at the same time, has no acceptable ideal.

This is completely opposed to the peaceful approach which Gandhiji taught us. Communists as well as anti-communists both seem to imagine that a principle can be stoutly defended only by language of

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violence and by condemning those who do not accept it. For both of them there are no shades, there is only black or white. That is the old approach of the bigoted aspects of some religions. It is not the approach of tolerance of feeling that perhaps others might have some share of the truth also. Speaking for myself, I find this approach wholly unscientific, unreasonable and uncivilised whether it is applied in the realm of religion or economic theory or anything else. I prefer the old pagan approach of tolerance, apart from its religious aspects. But whatever we may think about it, we have arrived at a stage in the modern world when an attempt at forcible imposition of ideas on any large section of people is bound ultimately to fail. In present circumstances this will lead to war and tremendous destruction. There will be no victory, only defeat for everyone. We have seen in the last year or two that it is not easy even for great powers to reintroduce colonial control over territories which have recently become independent. That was exemplified by the Suez incident in 1956. Also what happened in Hungary demonstrated that the desire for national freedom is even stronger than any ideology and cannot ultimately be suppressed. What happened in Hungary was not essentially a conflict between communism and anti-communism. It represented nationalism striving for freedom from foreign control.

Thus violence cannot possibly lead today to a solution of any major problem because violence has become much to terrible and destructive. The moral approach to the question has now been powerfully reinforced by the practical aspect.

If the society which we aim at cannot be brought about by big-scale violence, will small scale violence help? Surely not, partly because that itself may lead to a big-scale violence and partly because it produces an atmosphere of conflict and of disruption. It is absurd to imagine that in a conflict the socially progressive forces are bound to win. In Germany both the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party were swept away by Hitler. This may well happen in other countries too. In India any appeal to violence is particularly dangerous because of its inherent disruptive character. The basic thing, I believe, is that wrong means will not lead to right results and that is no longer merely an ethical doctrine but a practical proposition.

Some of us have been discussing this general background and more especially, conditions in India. It is often said that there is a sense of frustration and depression in India and the old buoyancy of spirit is not to be found at a time when enthusiasm and hard work are most needed. This is not in evidence merely in our country. It is in a sense a world

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phenomenon. An old and valued colleague said that this is due to our not having a philosophy of life, and indeed the world also is suffering from this lack of a philosophical approach. In our efforts to ensure the material prosperity of the country we have not paid any attention to the spiritual element in human nature. Therefore in order to give the individual and the nation a sense of purpose, something to live for and if necessary to die for, we have to revive some philosophy of life and give, in the wider sense of the word, a spiritual background to our thinking.

We talk of a Welfare State and of democracy and socialism. These are good concepts but they hardly convey a clear and unambiguous meaning. Then the question arises as to what our ultimate objective should be. Democracy and socialism are means to an end, not the end itself. We talk of the good of society. Is this something apart from and transcending the good of the individuals composing it? If the individual is ignored and sacrificed for what is considered the good of the society, is that the right objective to have?

It is agreed that the individual should not be so sacrificed and indeed that real social progress will come only when opportunity is given to the individual to develop, provided the individual is not a selected group but comprises the whole community. The touchstone, therefore, should be how far any political of social theory enables the individual to rise above his petty self and thus think in terms of the good of all. The law of life should not be competition or acquisitiveness but cooperation, the good of each contributing to the good of all. In such a society the emphasis will be on duties, not on rights; the rights will follow the performance of the duties. We have to give a new direction to education and evolve a new type of humanity.

This argument leads to the old Vedantic conception that everything, whether sentient or insentient, finds a place in the organic whole: that everything has a spark of what might be called the divine impulse or the basic energy or life force which pervades the Universe. This leads to metaphysical regions which tend to take us away from the problems of life which face us. I suppose that any line of thought sufficiently pursued leads us in some measure to metaphysics. Even science today is almost on the verge of all manner of imponderables. I do not propose to discuss these metaphysical aspects, but this very argument indicates how the mind searches for something basic underlying the physical world. If we really believed in this all pervading concept of the principle of life, it might help us to get rid of some of our narrowness of race, caste or class and make us more tolerant and understanding in our approaches to life's problems.

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But obviously it does not solve any of these problems and, largely, we remain where we were. In India we talk of the Welfare State and socialism. In a sense, every country, whether it is capitalist, socialist or communist, accepts the ideal of the Welfare State. Capitalism, in a few countries at least, has achieved this common welfare to a very large extent, though it has far from solved its own problems and there is a basic lack of something vital. Capitalism allied to democracy has undoubtedly toned down many ot its evils and in fact is different now from what it was a generation or two ago. In industrially advanced countries there has been a continuous and steady upward trend of economic development. Even the terrible losses of world war have not prevented this trend in so far as the highly developed countries are concerned. Further, this economic development has spread, though in varying degrees, to all classes. This does not apply to countries which are not industrially developed. Indeed in these countries the struggle for development is very difficult and sometimes, in spite of efforts, not only do economic inequalities remain but tend to become worse. Normally speaking, it may be said that the forces of a capitalist society, if left unchecked, tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and thus increase the gap between them. This applies to countries as well as groups or regions or classes within the countries. Various democratic processes interfere with these normal trends. Capitalism itself has therefore developed some socialistic features even though its major aspects remain.

Socialism of course deliberately wants to interfere with the normal processes and thus not only adds to the productive forces but lessens inequalities.

What is socialism? It is difficult to give a precise answer and there are innumerable definitions of it. Some people probably think of socialism vaguely as something which does good and which aims at equality. That does not take us very far. Socialism is basically a different approach from that of capitalism, though I think it is true that the wide gap between them tends to lessen because many of the ideas of socialism are gradually being incorporated in the capitalist structure. Socialism is after all not only a way of life but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems. If socialism is introduced in a backward and under-developed country, it does not suddenly make it any less backward. In fact we then have a backward and poverty-stricken socialism.

Unfortunately many of the political aspects of communism have tended to distort our vision of socialism. Also the technique of struggle

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evolved by communism has given violence a predominant part. Socialism should therefore be considered apart from these political elements or the inevitability of violence. It tells us that the general character of social, political and intellectual life in a society is governed by its productive resources. As those productive resources change and develop, the life and thinking of the community changes.

Imperialism or colonialism suppressed and suppresses the progressive social forces. Inevitably it aligns itself with certain privileged groups or classes because it is interested in preserving the social and economic *status quo*. Even after a country has become independent, it may continue to be economically dependent on other countries. This kind of thing is euphemistically called having close cultural and economic ties.

We discuss sometimes the self-sufficiency of the village. This should not be mixed up with the idea of decentralisation though it may be a part ot it. While decentralisation is desirable to the largest possible extent, if it leads to old and rather primitive methods of production, it simply means that we do not utilise modern methods which have brought great material advance to some countries of the West. That is, we remain poor and, what is more, tend to become poorer because of the pressure of an increasing population. I do not see any way out of the vicious circle of poverty except by utilising the new sources of power which science has placed at our disposal. Being poor, we have no surplus to invest and we sink lower and lower.

We have to break through this barrier by profiting by the new sources of power and modern techniques. But in doing so, we should not forget the basic human element and the fact that our objective is individual improvement and the lessening of inequalities; and we must not forget the ethical and spiritual aspects of life which are ultimately the basis of culture and civilisation and have given some meaning to life.

It has to be remembered that it is not by some magic adoption of socialist or capitalist method that poverty suddenly leads to riches. The only wav is through hard work and increasing the productivity of the nation and organising an equitable distribution of its products. It is a lengthy and difficult process. In a poorly developed country, the capitalist method offers no chance. It is only through a planned approach on socialistic lines that steady progress can be attained though even that will take time. As this process continues, the texture of our life and thinking gradually changes.

Planning is essential because otherwise we waste our resources

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which are very limited. Planning does not mean a collection of projects or schemes but a thought-out approach of how to strengthen the base and pace of progress so that the community advances on all fronts. In India we have a terrible problem of extreme poverty in certain large regions, apart from the general poverty of the country. We have always a difficult choice before us: whether to concentrate on production by itself in selected and favourable areas, thus for the moment rather ignoring the poor areas, or try to develop the backward areas at the same time so as to lessen the inequalities between regions. A balance has to be struck and an integrated national plan evolved. A national plan need not and indeed should not have rigidity. It need not have rigidity. It need not be based on any dogma but should rather take the existing facts into consideration. It may and, I think in present day India, it should encourage private enterprise in many fields though even that private enterprise must necessarily fit in with the national plan and have such controls as are considered necessary.

Land reforms have a peculiar significance because without them, more especially in a highly congested country like India, there can be no radical improvement in productivity in agriculture. But the main object of land reforms is a deeper one. They are meant to break up the old class structure of a society that is stagnant.

We want social security, but we have to recognise that social security comes only when a certain stage of development has been reached. Otherwise we shall have neither social security nor any development.

It is clear that in the final analysis it is the quality of the human beings that counts. It is man who builds up the wealth of a nation as well as its cultural progress. Hence education and health are of high importance so as to produce that quality in the human beings. We have to suffer here also from the lack of resources, but still we have to remember always that it is right education and good health that will lay the foundation for economic as well as cultural and spiritual progress.

A national plan has thus both a short-term objective and a long-term objective. The long-term objective gives a true perspective. Without it short-term planning is of little avail and will lead us into blind alleys. Planning will always be perspective planning and will be hard in view of the physical achievements for which we strive. In other words, it has to be physical planning, though it is obviously limited and conditioned by financial resources and economic conditions.

The problems which India faces are to some extent common to other

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countries, but we have new problems for which there are no parallels of historical precedents elsewhere. What has happened in the past in the industrially advanced countries has little bearing on us today. As a matter of fact, the countries that are advanced today were economically better off than India today, in terms of per capita income, before their industrialisation began. Western economics, therefore, though helpful, have little bearing on our present-day problems. So also have Marxist economics which are in many ways out of date even though they throw a considerable light on economic processes. We have thus to do our own thinking, profiting by the example of others, but essentially trying to find a path for ourselves suited to our own conditions.

In considering these economic aspects of our problems, we have always to remember the basic approach of peaceful means; and perhaps we might also keep in view the old Vedantic ideal of the life force which is the inner base of everything that exists.

The AICC Economic Review (August 15, 1958)

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